

**“An Organ of the Irish Race on the Continent”: The *Pilot*, Irish Immigration,  
and Irish-American Identity, 1851-66**

By

2018

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Submitted to the graduate degree program in American Studies and the Graduate Faculty of the  
University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy.

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## Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the history of the *Pilot*, an ethnic newspaper for the Irish Catholic, and its fictional and non-fictional printed material from the period between 1851 and 1866. The Great Famine (1845-1851) and the Civil War (1861-1865) act as milestones for this study, as its aim is to understand the evolution of the Famine immigrant into a naturalized citizen fighting in the ranks of the Union. The *Pilot* assumed a prominent place within the immigrant guidance tradition of the mid-nineteenth century as it aimed to construct Irish-American citizens out of immigrants. The transformation of the Irish immigrant into an Irish-American citizen mirrors the simultaneous transformation of the *Pilot* from an immigrant newspaper into an ethnic newspaper, and highlights the value of the *Pilot* as an institution working to elevate the standards and representation of the Irish race in the States. In order to break down the transformation of the immigrant, this study focuses on three questions in relation to the immigrant's identity: how to be an ideal immigrant on the way to assimilation and naturalization; how to be an ideal laborer elevating the representation of the Irish race as a whole; finally, how to be an ideal Irish-American citizen proving the national belonging of the Irish to the Union. In an attempt to answer these questions and understand how the Irish acquired their white identity and racially charged discourse through print culture, this study derives greatly from whiteness studies, and examines the *Pilot* in order to understand how it situates the black man as the nemesis of the Irish. This dissertation examines the guidance offered by the *Pilot* to Irish immigrants on their way to becoming ideal immigrants, an ideal labor force, and ideal citizens; and it studies the paper's role as the platform of an imagined community for Irish-Americans where they could come together under shared values of Catholicism, Irishness, Americanness, and whiteness.

## Acknowledgements

First, I want to thank Cheryl Lester, for being the best advisor I have ever known, for guiding me through good and bad, for pushing me to do better, for supporting me through all the hard times, and of course, for showing patience with my procrastination. This dissertation would have been impossible to complete without your mentorship and much-valued friendship.

I am also grateful to the rest of my committee for the valuable information they provided throughout this long process. David Roediger, it was your great book *The Wages of Whiteness* that opened the doors of whiteness studies to me. I am grateful to you for all the wisdom you shared with me inside and outside the class. Laura Mielke, thank you for pointing out things that I missed, and sharing your vast knowledge of nineteenth-century literature with me. Maryemma Graham, I am thankful for all you taught me on the agency of the individual and its reflection on literature; it was in your class that I learned that one's personal story could mean more than just an autobiographical statement. Christopher Perreira, thank you for imparting your knowledge on correctional facilities and their hegemonical effect on people - if it were not for your lectures on prison culture, I would not have developed the idea of institutions that was essential to this study. I am grateful to all of you for individually contributing both to my academic and personal development, as well as to the development of this dissertation.

I want to thank Devrim Kilicer, without whom all of this would just be a dream. Thank you for, literally, forcing me to pursue a Ph.D. education in the United States. You were the first person to ask me if I had considered an academic career, and you were the first one to open my eyes to studying outside Turkey. You are the person I feel proud to have as a professor and a friend, and to you I am forever grateful. I also want to thank my colleagues and friends at Ankara

University, especially Nisa Harika Güzel Köşker, for their continuous support during the period I wrote this dissertation.

Mom and dad, thank you for always supporting me throughout my never-ending years of education. Thank you for your patience, compassion, and unconditional love. Mom, I would not have completed this if you had not supported me along the way, telling me that I am your strong-willed girl. And dad, if it were not for that set of eighty world Classics you bought me in elementary school, I would not have known the magical world of literature and started this long journey in the first place. Last but not least, Sercan thank you for loving me through all of this, reassuring me when I needed it the most, and of course for telling me that you would wait for me when I went to the United States, and eventually marrying this dissertation-obsessed woman. And if he could read, I would thank my cat, Homer, for he was by far the most comforting one during long nights of writing sessions.

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## Introduction

In a world where man is the primary source of destruction towards nature and mankind, where famine, droughts, global capitalism, and financially motivated wars force large numbers of the world's population to emigrate, it is necessary to understand the politics of immigration. The current sentiments of anger, hatred and disdain towards recent waves of immigration show the degree of separation between receiving country citizens and those victims. This separation leads receiving citizens to discriminate against the newcomers. Moreover, worldwide anti-immigration sentiments are reinforced even further with the rise of nationalism and the religious beliefs of some receiving countries. And yet, the situation encountered now is not a novel one, considering that stereotypes of immigrants as nation-dividing, anti-religious, lazy, incompetent, disorderly, and immoral have been around for centuries.

As in our contemporary world, Irish immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century sought guidance to cope with the New World throughout their adjustment to their new social, cultural, economic, and political environment. Newspapers, magazines, novels, tracts, and books written for immigrants were available for them to learn about job opportunities, lodgings, and American manners. The *Boston Pilot*, which was founded in 1829 under the name *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel* (Walsh "The Boston Pilot" iv), assumed a prominent place within the print culture of this immigrant guidance tradition by serving to construct Irish-American citizens out of immigrants. The construction of the Irish-American citizen via non-fictional and fictional material published in the *Pilot* will be a focal concern of this dissertation. The readership of the *Boston Pilot* consisted of prospective and new Irish immigrants as well as established Irish-Americans. In this respect, particular waves of Irish immigration to America are important elements of this dissertation, which investigates how the increase of the Irish immigration to



America in the 1840s affected the Irish community and press. The Great Famine and the Civil War are pivotal for this study in order to understand the evolution of the Irish Famine immigrant into a naturalized Irish-American soldier fighting in the Civil War under the paper's guidance. As I analyze the transformation of the Irish immigrant into an Irish-American citizen, I also examine the *Boston Pilot's* transformation from an immigrant newspaper into an ethnic newspaper. In order to further break down this transformation, I focus on three questions in relation to the immigrant's identity: how to be an ideal immigrant on the way to assimilation and naturalization; how to be an ideal laborer elevating the representation of the Irish race as a whole; finally, how to be an ideal Irish-American citizen defending the Union. In an attempt to answer these questions and understand how the Irish acquired their white identity through print culture, I derive much from whiteness studies, and examine the *Pilot* in order to understand how it situates the black man as the nemesis of the Irish.

The evolving Irish immigrant population relied on print culture as a source for the process of adjustment to American social and racial ideas. Knowledge was not accessible to the poor laboring classes, but with the development of print technology and the expansion of subscriptions, the print media became more accessible. This accessibility of information brought knowledge to masses of laborers, transforming knowledge into an opportunity to uplift the community. The *Boston Pilot* was one of the landmarks of Irish-American immigrant culture in its goal to provide information and social mobility to the immigrant. In its prospectus for the year of 1863, the *Pilot* advertises itself as "an organ of the Irish race on the Continent," while also advocating its efforts to support the Government in the Civil War.<sup>1</sup> The paper uses the "Irish race" as a term that does view race as part of an ethnic identity and not on the black/white binary. The Irish race, therefore, is used to describe both people of Irish descent who immigrated to the

US, and Irish people who stayed in their homeland. It is an umbrella term signifying ethnicity and belonging to a people rather than attributing racial characteristics to the Irish identity on the color spectrum. As the defender of this Irish race, the *Boston Pilot* views itself as a fundamental part of the Irish immigrant community, “devoted to the interests of naturalized citizens,”<sup>2</sup> “worthy [of] the reputation which it has attained as an authentic gazette of Irish and Catholic affairs,”<sup>3</sup> and ready “to combat the enemies of the Church, and the vile calumniators of our Irish population.”<sup>4</sup> The *Boston Pilot* makes it its duty to keep itself “in the front rank of Catholic and Irish-American Journalism,”<sup>5</sup> while doing “great service to the Catholic body.”<sup>6</sup> Another duty undertaken by the *Boston Pilot*<sup>7</sup> is to guide the immigrant in the New World in a way that supports “assimilation” into American values and nationalism, while remaining loyal to Irish patriotism and the Catholic faith. But what were the means the *Pilot* used to guide the Irish immigrant into American citizenship? And what was the role of the *Pilot* in the Irish community as an organ of ethnic press?

This project is limited in scope as I analyze only one agent of the Irish-American ethnic press from the nineteenth-century. I chose the *Pilot* as the primary source for this project as it was a leading Irish and Catholic newspaper. The newspaper’s initial publication in Boston is another reason for its selection as a primary source, because Boston featured the third highest Irish-born population in the country, after New York and Philadelphia (Kenny *The American Irish* 105). Boston was one of the urban spaces in which the Irish settled, especially following the Great Famine, and in which they formed a distinctively Irish Catholic community. With the significant rise in the Irish immigrant population, interaction between the city’s immigrant and citizen population was largely negative. The *Pilot* advocated for Irish immigrants in this period and hoped to guide them through distress. Although I briefly look at the history of the whole run

of the *Pilot* from 1838 to 1908 to discern its importance as an immigrant and ethnic newspaper in a distressed Irish community, I concentrate on certain periods to understand and illustrate how this organ shaped the immigrant into a citizen through its serialized columns, fiction, and news articles. Although the newspaper was founded in 1829 under the name *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel*, I will disregard this previous phase of the newspaper, as the aim at that time was purely religious. I will look at the *Pilot*'s history starting from its republication by Patrick Donahoe in 1838. An Irish immigrant himself, who came to the United States as a child, Donahoe strove for the good of the Irish Catholic community, and under his proprietorship the newspaper became first an immigrant and then an ethnic newspaper. I do not analyze the *Pilot* after its purchase by the Archdiocese of Boston in 1908 since under its new management the newspaper's identity and content changed. The current *Pilot* became a local diocesan paper with no specific interest in the Irish identity. I focus on the period between 1851 and 1866 because of the wealth of material aimed at shaping the adjustment of millions of newcomers from Ireland in their journey from uninformed immigrants to naturalized citizens fighting for the Union. The Famine ended in 1851, and by this time millions of Irish had immigrated to the United States. I take 1851 as my starting point, because by this time six years of immigration had taken place resulting in large numbers of poor Irish Catholic immigrants dwelling in urban America. The circumstances of the period are ideal for examination of the paper's role in the immigrant's adjustment during this time of cultural collision. I end my research with the Civil War in 1866, in order to demonstrate how the paper's treatment of Irish immigrants evolved. Whereas the paper initially treated Irish immigrants as foreigners, it later characterized them as citizens, fighting for the country that had previously labeled and discriminated against them as outsiders. Therefore, in this dissertation the Great Famine and the Civil War are the markers of change in the social, racial and political

identity acquisition of the Irish immigrant. As I analyze the period between 1851 and 1866, my main concern is to disentangle the nets of complicated racial and national identity creation of the period's Irish immigrants through the discourse of the *Pilot*. For the contemporary reader, this dissertation--and the *Pilot*--offer insight into the needs of the period in terms of immigration and acceptance into the receiving culture. In order to understand this process of gaining acceptance, it is important to examine the development of racial discourse in print culture and to understand how and why immigrant groups or underrepresented white minority groups acquired their racial ideas.

The acquisition of these racial ideas, as well as social values, were essential in the Irish immigrant's identity formation. In this dissertation, I argue that Irish immigrants are processed by the *Pilot* in order to preserve their Catholic and Irish identities, but the counter-institution—the American nation—affects this identity formation in such a way that the *Pilot* also needs to infuse the American identity into the individuals. At the end of this identity formation, the desired outcome for the *Pilot* is to turn the immigrant into a Catholic Irish-American, but the counter-institution may lead the immigrant to denounce his Irish or Catholic identities. This identity formation, and the fine line between preserving the ethnic identity and becoming American national subjects, is essential to this dissertation, and the *Pilot*'s efforts to create the desired Catholic Irish-American with the help of its guidance rhetoric will be analyzed in the next chapters. Moreover, the *Pilot*'s authoritative part in this adjustment process gives it the role of the Patriarch. There is no doubt that Patrick Donahoe, the proprietor of the paper, is heard from between the lines. Also, the domination of the male voice is engraved on the paper's pages. The female voice is heard only through the literature serialized in the paper; yet, that voice is compatible with the requisites of being a 'good woman' in the nineteenth-century: respectful,

religious, appropriate. The male voice of the paper, however, questions, informs, comments, archives, and most importantly it guides. The three target communities of this patriarchal interest are the prospective Irish immigrants in Ireland, the newly immigrated Irish on the American soil, and the naturalized Irish-Americans. The *Pilot*, as the self-proclaimed patriarch of these communities, aims to form a worldview for them that shapes their perception of how to become Americans while preserving their Irishness to a decent degree.

The majority of the post-famine immigrants were educated in English; however, illiteracy rates were higher among the elderly immigrants, immigrants from the rural regions, and members of the laboring-class (K. Miller 351). Even though high illiteracy rates constituted a problem for the ethnic print culture, the *Pilot* managed to become a successful newspaper. Its role as a print organ created an “imagined community” for the Irish in America; a community in which they “became capable of comprehending one another via print and paper” (Anderson 44). The *Pilot*’s success as an immigrant and ethnic newspaper, and as the avenue of an imagined community, is undeniable. Nevertheless, the attention this successful organ has received from scholars varies. On one hand, the *Pilot* is viewed as one of the leading newspapers within the Irish Catholic press. On the other hand, its absence from studies of the history of American journalism shows a lack of comprehensive research combining American and ethnic/immigrant presses. For example, historian and journalism scholar Frank Luther Mott’s extensive study *American Journalism* (1962) omits ethnic newspapers altogether. In the introduction, he talks about the difficulty of selecting journals, but the fact that he excludes ethnic newspapers from the canon of American journalism is an example of the workings of Anglo-American hegemony. Such exclusion, however, is not limited to Mott, because scholarship on the ethnic press also excludes the Irish ethnic press. An early example of this is sociologist Robert E. Park’s *The*

*Immigrant Press and Its Control* (1922), which looks at the Jewish, Japanese, German, Scandinavian, French, Bohemian, Spanish, Italian, and Polish press but omits the Irish immigrant press, apart from a few passing references. Journalism scholar Leara D. Rhodes' more recent study on the ethnic press, however, mentions the *Pilot* as part of the ethnic press canon. In *The Ethnic Press: Shaping the American Dream* (2010), she looks at the *Pilot* within a Catholic and Americanizing yet Fenian context. Historian and priest Paul J. Foik's *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* (1930) is another example of early scholarship on Catholic journalism that looks at the publishing history of the *Pilot* in detail.<sup>8</sup> Historian Denis P. Ryan's *Beyond the Ballot Box* (1983) also includes the *Pilot* in his study on Boston Irish and yet his work is also limited to the history of the *Pilot* and its interactions with the ongoing political and social circumstances. These books refer to the *Pilot* only on a historical level and mention the newspaper generally for its renowned editors such as Patrick Donahoe, Father John Roddan, and John O'Reilly. Moreover, because most of these books use historical methods, discussion on the fictional literature of the *Pilot* is scarce.

Literary historian and English professor Charles Fanning's all-encompassing book *The Irish Voice in America* (1990) views the *Pilot* in a different light. Fanning focuses on the fictional literature published in the *Pilot* and addresses the newspaper as an accelerator for the writing careers of successful Irish-American authors such as Mary Anne Sadlier and John Roddan. However, these studies have one thing in common: they do not merge literature and history. Many of the dissertations written about the *Pilot* also keep history and literature separate from each other.<sup>9</sup> Historians view the *Pilot* as an immigrant newspaper and recount its history without any consideration of the importance of its serialized fiction. Literature scholars, on the other hand, mention the *Pilot* in association with its publication of fiction and provide a history

of the journal only as background. The separation of literature and history in the analysis of the *Pilot* leads the reader to overlook the relationship between the fictional and non-fictional content of the newspaper. It is my aim to merge these two fields in this dissertation, in order to analyze the relationship between the Irish immigrant identity and both the *Pilot*'s fiction and non-fiction in light of the historical events. For instance, in this way, I will not only look at the history and non-fictional columns of the *Pilot* regarding the Irish participation in the Civil War but also I will analyze and synthesize the fictional works published within the relevant period. This offers an opportunity to situate nineteenth-century Irish-American fiction within American history and to look at the fiction's role as a navigator for the Irish immigrant. Finally, it will also demonstrate how the *Pilot*'s publication of both fictional and nonfictional works served the purpose of creating ideal Irish-American citizens.

This dissertation follows an interdisciplinary approach in analyzing the role of the *Pilot* as a social institution that contributes to the identity construction of the immigrant. I use archival methods, literary analysis, historical data and secondary sources in this project. Whiteness studies and theories of nationalism and labor are applied to chapters to enrich the discussion behind the immigrant identity and print culture. During my research, the online database of the Center for Research Libraries offered me an online archive from where I retrieved the copies of the *Pilot* from 1838 to 1865. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston Archives owns print copies of the *Pilot*, and Boston College Libraries house them. In 2017, I visited the Archdiocese Archives as well as Boston College Libraries to access copies of the paper from 1866 to 1908. Unfortunately, some of the numbers were missing from the archives. Moreover, acidic paper was at times used during the publication of the *Pilot* and as a result some numbers are in such poor condition that parts of their pages do crumble into dust. The Archdiocese Archives offered many

more helpful documents such as letters, books, legal and financial documents that shed light on the relationships between editors and proprietors as well as on financial matters.

As for the terminology, I adopted the language of the *Pilot* in order to stay loyal to the vocabulary used in the paper. Therefore, I will explain some of these keywords. When referring to Irish immigrants of the nineteenth-century, the *Pilot* uses ‘emigrant’ instead of ‘immigrant.’ That is because the Irish viewed immigration as an involuntary act. The Great Famine, for many Irish immigrants, was caused by the British rule’s failure rather than an agricultural disaster. The involuntary immigration led the Irish to regard themselves as exiles according to Kerby Miller, who says,

[T]he Irish word primarily used to describe one who left Ireland has been *deorai*, the literal meaning of which is “exile.” In old Irish, the form *deoraid* was a legal term referring to a person without property, ... the word also implied a person without kinfolk or social “place”—an outsider, a stranger, even an outlaw. Also, Irish poets often employed two additional words to describe a person who left Ireland: *dithreabhach*, which meant one who was homeless; and *dibeartach*, meaning one who suffered from banishment. Thus, the Irish language, when combined with the poets’ interpretation of postconquest Irish history, provided both linguistic patterns and heroic models to predispose the Catholic Irish to regard all those who left Ireland as unwilling and tragic political exiles. (105)

Therefore, the *Pilot* refers to the Irish as emigrants, viewing them as masses that had to emigrate because of the hunger and poverty caused by Britain. Another word that I often use in the body of this work is ‘assimilation,’ which is used to refer to the adaptation of Irish immigrants to American traditions, values, and manners. The *Pilot* uses the word with a positive meaning, and



in the *Pilot*'s context, assimilation means success rather than cultural loss. According to the *Pilot*, assimilation does not mean a complete denial of Irish identity; rather, it is a balance of Irish and American nationalities. The *Pilot* mentions that the failure of the immigrant to assimilate would mean ingratitude to the American nation; as a result, the paper propagandizes assimilation especially through the Famine years. 'Naturalization' is another keyword, and the *Pilot* and I both use this word as the legal process of getting American citizenship. Naturalization meant political empowerment, and the *Pilot* advocated for it, since it knew that the Irish needed to become politically active in order to gain social and economic success. By the standards of the mid-nineteenth century *Pilot*, assimilation meant getting one step closer to naturalization, seen as the ultimate goal for the Irish immigrant. The last keyword is 'nativism,' which I mention quite often in the following chapters. According to the paper's discourse, "natives" are native-born Americans, whose presence represents the values of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant manhood. It was this WASP element that became alarmed when confronted with large numbers of immigrants belonging to another faith, who also blurred the line between black and white with their vocations. Nativists viewed Irish immigrants as a threat because of their strong ties to Ireland and the Catholic faith and their high immigration numbers. Nativist sentiments occurred in response to incoming immigrants, who were viewed as a threat to national unity, social order and the economic prosperity of the country. Therefore, nativists resolved to protect and elevate the interests of American citizens at the expense of immigrants.

This dissertation has four chapters, each of which brings together interdisciplinary methods, culture, literature and history of Irish-Americans within the contextual frame of the *Pilot*. Before moving on to how the *Pilot* influenced the socio-cultural, racial, and national identity construction of immigrants, I look at the forces of this identity equation in the *Pilot* and

in the ways that Irish immigrants used the *Pilot*. Chapter One focuses on the historical development of the *Pilot* as an organ of the ethnic press and its structural and contextual formation as a newspaper. It also explores how Irish immigrants used the *Pilot* in order to serve their own needs in the adjustment process and how different uses of the paper became a means of belonging to an imagined community over the years. The following three chapters concentrate on serialized columns and fiction published in the *Pilot*, in an attempt to answer the three questions I asked in the beginning. Chapter Two examines the subject of assimilation in order to understand how an immigrant needed to behave in order to become an ideal immigrant, without losing his Irish and Catholic values, in pursuit of Americanization. In order to answer this question, this chapter analyzes one of the *Pilot*'s guidance serials entitled "The Irish Emigrants' Guide for the United States" published in 1851, together with Mary Anne Sadlier's didactic novel "Willy Burke; or, The Irish Orphan in America" serialized in the *Pilot* in 1850. Chapter Three examines the *Pilot* to answer the question of how to be an ideal laborer as the immigrant settles down in this country, and strives to work under fire from nativism. Therefore, this chapter focuses on another serialized column "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes," which was published in 52 issues of the *Pilot* from April 15, 1854, to April 28, 1855. I also try to recover Anna H. Dorsey's serialized fiction "Dummie," published between January 6, 1855, and March 17, 1855. Chapter Four looks at the creation of the ideal Irish-American, whose transformation from immigrant to naturalized citizen reaches its apogee with his participation in the Civil War, thus proving the culmination of his Americanization. This last chapter concentrates on one of the longest serialized columns in the *Pilot*, "Records of Irish-American Patriotism," which runs from September 27, 1862, to January 6, 1866, and which appeared in 172 numbers of the *Pilot*. I analyze this column together with "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade" and "Nora Mc'Ivor;

or, the Heroine of Fredericksburg, A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War.” While I analyze these fictional and non-fictional literature works, I also look at the editorials and news published in the relevant *Pilot* issues to better understand the period’s circumstances. By illustrating how the *Pilot* addressed these three questions, I break down Irish-American identity formation in the nineteenth-century into three parts: immigrant, laborer, and soldier. I anticipate finding the methodology the *Pilot* employed in attempting to construct the model Irish-American citizen on national, racial and economic bases. By the end of this project, I aim to answer questions about the significance of the print culture in shaping immigrant identity and to document the evolution of the *Pilot*’s rhetoric of guidance through serialized fiction and non-fiction. As I study the *Pilot*’s discourse during this fifteen years period, I unravel how this organ of the Irish race created the Irish-American race in the United States, favored by the native-born American and the complete opposite of the black man; and how the Irish became a part of the whiteness discourse as they advanced towards Americanization under the influence of the *Pilot*.

## **Chapter I: “An Authentic Gazette of Irish and Catholic Affairs:”**

### **Development of the *Boston Pilot* as an ethnic newspaper and the Irish use of the *Pilot***

The *Pilot* as an ethnic newspaper creates an alternative voice against the hegemonic American society and its print media to defend and elevate the Irish Catholic. Institutions such as the *Pilot* gradually become an extension of the community, as the institution and society interact with each other and eventually form a bond affecting the formation of both sides in this emerging entity. The institutional form of the *Pilot* also means that it had to adopt hegemony in order to create a strong voice as an ethnic newspaper. For instance, the creation of a defensive rhetoric in favor of the Irish Catholic is a means of generating “an alternative hegemony,” which “overthrows” the hegemony of the dominant group (R. Williams *Keywords* 145). In this sense, institutions function in a hegemonic fashion since they “teach, confirm, and in most cases finally enforce selected meanings, values, and activities” (R. Williams *Marxism* 118). The *Pilot*’s self-attained mission to educate the Irish immigrant masses further supports its institutional structure. Moreover, the paper questions the oppressive and discriminating power of English, Protestant, and American authorities, and manages to become a powerful institution over time identifying itself as the “staunch defender” of the Irish Catholic.<sup>1</sup> To look at the function of the *Pilot* as an institution creating its own alternative hegemony, I look briefly at its run as an immigrant newspaper until its acquisition by the Archdiocese of Boston, and answer questions regarding the growth of the *Pilot* into an ethnic newspaper expressly written for Irish-Americans. I then describe and analyze the changing form of the *Pilot* to understand how the outward presentation of the paper is a reflection of its dynamic values. And most importantly, by analyzing the printed

material in the *Pilot*, I study its transformation from an immigrant to an ethnic newspaper between the years of 1851-1866.

I use Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities to discuss 'belonging' in this chapter in detail. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson argues that the ideas of belonging to similar people and sharing traits in different social, political or religious realms form groups of people into nations. He suggests language as a medium for building an imagined community since it is not a biological trait but something that can be acquired. According to Anderson, the reason why the nation is imaginary is that people will not get to know their fellow citizens. He addresses the nation as a "deep, horizontal comradeship" no matter what "inequality and exploitation" prevails (Anderson 7). The *Pilot* offers to be the cultural, political and social space where Irish immigrants connect with their fellow citizens in this imagined construction. It also becomes the space where the shift in national identity is promoted through repeated calls for assimilation. Anderson's notion of a "deep, horizontal comradeship" will be my focus as I take a brief look at Irish immigration to America and the efforts of the Irish to use the *Pilot* to connect with other members of the Irish community. I will also look at the letters sent to the *Pilot* by its readers, which are published under titles such as "Letters to the Editor," and "Letters from the People." By bringing these letters into my discussion, I hope to give voice to the readers of the *Pilot* while evaluating its importance for the Irish-American community. What is the relationship between the immigrant and the newspaper? And what is the role of print culture in immigration? These are the leading questions I ask in this chapter while I examine the paper's history and readership and consider how readers used the *Pilot*.

### **The *Pilot*: A History of The Irishman's Bible**

The *Pilot* was so woven into the Catholic Irish-American culture and its effect on that community was so immense that in the nineteenth-century it was known as the “Irishman’s Bible” (Lord, et al., 3: 391). Throughout its run as an ethnic newspaper, the *Pilot* repeatedly changes its name, its masthead, and format to address certain aspects of the Irish community. It starts its journey as a Catholic newspaper but over time becomes an Irish-American newspaper with a devotedly continuing but milder Catholic identity. The heavily religious content of the first decades transmutes into a nationalistically embellished rhetoric during the 1860s. The dominance of the Catholic rhetoric is restored later when the Archdiocese of Boston purchases the paper in 1908, and consequently the national rhetoric diminishes. In this chapter, I argue that the *Pilot* is a social institution that starts with the aim of molding the ethnic and national identities of the Irish immigrant population, and eventually becoming a vital instrument in Irish immigrant culture.

Many contemporary resources name the *Pilot*’s main interest as religion and treat it as a Catholic paper.<sup>2</sup> This is a just categorization when the paper’s history is taken into consideration. Bishop B. J. Fenwick founded the *Pilot* in 1829 under the name *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel*, and the initial reason behind Fenwick’s publication of the *Jesuit* was to stand up for the Catholic faith and use it as a means of education (O’Toole 34). Fenwick was impressed by *The Press*, a Catholic paper published in Connecticut and this led to his foundation of the *Jesuit*. He hoped that the paper would be a success and even thought about using the profits for founding an orphan asylum for Catholics (O’Toole 41). George Pepper and Dr. J. S. Bartlett worked as the editors of the *Jesuit*, while Patrick Donahoe, who would later become the proprietor of the paper, and Henry L. Devereaux were publishers. Because of low subscription rates, the paper proceeded

to include Irish news which led to its first name change two years after its publication, when it was called the *United States Catholic Intelligencer* (Lord, et al 2: 334). At the beginning of 1833, the name was changed again to the *Jesuit* through Bishop Fenwick's efforts; however, in January 1835, the paper was renamed the *Literary and Catholic Sentinel*.<sup>3</sup> Even though the Catholic Church had been the dominant cause of the paper under Bishop Fenwick, it acquired an Irish-American identity over time. In 1836, it bore the title the *Boston Pilot*, and it discontinued publication in January 1837 due to the resignations of Bartlett and Pepper (Lord, et al. 2: 336).<sup>4</sup> The name *Boston Pilot* was inspired by the *Dublin Pilot*, which at the time was "the chief organ of Daniel O'Connell and his movement" (Lord, et al 2: 335). This name change marks the start of the paper's devotion to the improvement of the Irish race both in Ireland and in the United States. In January 1838, it continued its publication under the same name, and in its first editorial after republication the paper highlighted the absence of a journal concerned with naturalized citizens. According to the *Pilot*, such a paper was unequivocally needed because of the rising enmity towards "foreigners and Catholic Citizens."<sup>5</sup> The paper became stabilized under Donahoe's proprietorship, but the year 1858 saw yet another change when the paper was renamed the *Pilot*. It still continues publication under the same title, under the proprietorship of the Archdiocese of Boston. In order to maintain a consistent way of referring to the paper, I will call it by its present name, the *Pilot*.

A statement made in an auditor's report in 1909 declares the changes in the discourse of the *Pilot* since 1830, saying that since its establishment the paper has been "more or less of a Catholic organ but its connection with the Boston diocese has been closer at some times than others and at some periods its tone has been secular and political rather than strictly religious."<sup>6</sup> This statement highlights the paper's attachment to the Church and matters of a political nature,

with regard to its contents, which ranges from Irish freedom, and Catholic faith, to Irish and American politics. The *Pilot* also includes fiction produced by Catholic writers, providing literature based on Catholic values, fearing that reading Protestant or romance novels would degenerate especially the young population. Apart from fictional literature, the paper also published historical fiction, clerical speeches and orations, and the lives of important Irish or Catholic figures. The material offered by the *Pilot*, therefore, contributed to the immigrant's progress, and the paper became "definitely a force of value in the cultural development of the Irish-American people" (Lord, et al., 2: 747). The paper's main aim, however, was to educate and inform the immigrant, the foreigner, and the Irish-American on matters of adaptation, defense of the faith, as well as social and financial progress.

The *Pilot*'s didactic role in instructing the immigrant and the Irish-American on national and religious subjects, but most importantly the paper's close observation of the Church's teachings, situates the *Pilot* as the foremost, most effective Catholic organ for the Diocese. The *Pilot*'s editorial policy, as mentioned in the centenary edition, is very close to its instructive character before its purchase, with resonating political and nationalist qualities. It is also similar to Donahoe's *Pilot* in terms of an institutionalized asset, for the *Pilot* in 1930 aims "to lend patriotic service to the nation in any way, perpetuate national ideas and institutions, thereby strengthening the national fabric by a stronger and more virile citizenship."<sup>7</sup> The *Pilot* under Donahoe's proprietorship also support this idea, for instructing Irish immigrants about the values appropriate and necessary for their survival in America also required imposing on them the necessity of coexisting with American institutions and fading into the American nation. Throughout its publication in the 50s, the *Pilot* repeatedly states that this assimilation does not and must not annul their Catholic identity. The Irish identity, too, is not completely neutralized;



however, it is diluted to fit the acquired American identity. As an institution, the *Pilot* functions as an alternate hegemony. Similar to the work of a sharpener on a pencil, the paper sculpts the immigrant into a useful instrument. When the process is over, the immigrant is shaped in the mold of the sharpener, which is the institutionalized newspaper in this case, and the United States is the paper. The first prerequisite of this sculpting is therefore to give the sharpener enough authority to cut the pencil into its own form. The second prerequisite is to be able to write on the paper, which receives the pen as a useful asset. If it is too sharp—Irish identity more dominant than the American one—then this will cause harm to the paper. But if it is too blunt—passive Catholic identity—then the inscription will be illegible on the paper and the immigrant will be lost to the Protestant community. Both of these scenarios are unacceptable according to the *Pilot*, and especially throughout the turbulent years following the Famine immigration up to the Civil War, the paper strives to create a perfect Catholic Irish-American citizen by asserting a strong Irish ethnic identity and constructing American national subjects. Interestingly, the line between the American and Irish identities is more emphasized in the 50s, right after the Famine. In the following chapter, Rev. J. O’Hanlon highlights the preservation of this fine line between these two identities in “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide for the United States.” In Chapters Three and Four, it is noticeable that the printed material does not need to remind the Irish-American of the necessity of attachment to these identities as often as in early 50s, since by this time, the paper is working on an established Irish-American identity unlike the Irish immigrant identity it worked with after the Famine. However, the paper still continues to remind the reader of the Irish people’s strong attachment to America, in an attempt to prove this attachment to the hegemonic American society.

The paper covers a period of some seventy years before it becomes the official organ of the Diocese. During that time period, many eminent journalists and clergymen act as editors or literary editors. Apart from Patrick Donahoe, influential names such as Thomas D’Arcy McGee, Father John Roddan, Father Joseph M. Finotti, John Boyle O’Reilly, James Jeffrey Roche, and Katherine O. Conway work as the *Pilot*’s editors. But throughout this dissertation, I refer to the paper with the personal pronoun “it,” and when I refer to the position of an editorial or a news article, I attribute authorship to the paper—unless the author’s name is mentioned in the original passage—and use the possessive pronoun “its.” The first reason behind this labeling is my consideration of the *Pilot* as an institution. I believe editors are contributors that shape the *Pilot*’s institutional identity; therefore, identifying periods of publication with the names of the paper’s editors and literary editors has never been my concern in this research.<sup>8</sup> However, changes in the identity of the newspaper have happened over time and demonstrate that as an institution it develops to adapt to the changing times.<sup>9</sup> The second reason is my perception of the *Pilot* as a whole organization encompassing all of its printed material. I address the paper’s editorial voice as “it,” because the editor’s voice is not separate from the identity of the newspaper. It is a shaping voice, but the institution of which s/he is a member is shaping him/her.

The *Pilot*’s institutional force on the immigrant is extremely important, but how does the paper identify itself throughout the years? The answer is that the *Pilot* identifies as Catholic Irish-American. In a short note, the paper declares that “No Catholic family should be without a Catholic paper. No Irish-American family without an Irish-American paper. THE PILOT is both” [emphasis in the original].<sup>10</sup> Acting as the connection point for religious belief and national identity, the paper asserts that it offers reading material in both areas and defends both the religious and political rights of its readership base. The *Pilot*’s mastheads represent the values

the paper defends or stand as a depiction of the period's history, and these mastheads change often between 1842 and 1871. Indeed, the paper does not have a masthead when it continues publication in 1838, but only carries the motto "Be Just, And Fear Not—Let All the Ends thou Aims at, be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's."<sup>11</sup> With this motto, the paper's purpose to offer nationalistic and religious reading material to the readers becomes clear. During this first year of the paper, the *Pilot* informs its readers about the Repeal Movement in Ireland, which aims to repeal the Act of Union that united Ireland and Britain. Since the main body of the Irish in the US is Protestant at this time, prejudice against Irish Catholics is not as dominant as it will be in the following years. On December 25, 1841, the paper announces that it will change its form and design "to render the *Pilot* deserving the increased patronage it receives, and worthy of the reputation which it has attained as an authentic gazette of Irish and Catholic affairs."<sup>12</sup> This is the paper's first endeavor in getting bigger and bolder both in dimension and form. The first number of 1842 is comprised of eight pages and four columns on each page. The font is smaller, and a new feature in the paper's outlay attracts the reader's eye. The *Pilot* introduces its first masthead with the figure of an eagle with outspread wings, holding a harp covered with shamrocks. With the Repeal Movement still continuing and news articles on the rise of nativism, this masthead is a plea for America's help in Irish freedom.

The next masthead change occurs in 1848, following the Great Famine in Ireland, caused by the failure of the potato crops in 1845. During this time, large numbers of poverty and famine-stricken Irish were immigrating into the United States and receiving a mass of Catholic immigrants fueled nativist prejudice among Americans. As famine continued with repeated crop failures, the *Pilot* starts incorporating news regarding immigrants into its discourse, and news about the Church becomes less prominent. The masthead is suggestive of the help the *Pilot*

expects from the States, as the paper introduces the figure of Erin in distress. This new masthead depicts one slightly elder Columbia comforting a young Erin. Columbia wears a banner with the word “America” on it and next to her stands an eagle that wears a shield and carries thunderbolts. Erin holds a banner with the legend “Ireland” on it, but she is so sorrowful and weak that she barely can hold the banner in her hand. A lonely harp covered in shamrocks stands next to her, while a woman carrying a sword with the cap of Freedom on it, hovers over them pointing to a far off horizon. This new masthead suggests that the *Pilot* expected America to help the starving Irish population in Ireland. America’s representation as an elderly woman is a representation of its long history, and the shield and arrows that decorate the eagle is the tacit call for America’s help in gaining Irish freedom by military intervention. In the same issue, the *Pilot* prints a child’s story about its masthead. In this cleverly written story, Erin is represented as the land of the fathers, whereas Columbia portrays the child’s new land. The story continues to mention that the evil step-sister, Britannia, oppresses Erin’s children; but Columbia supports Erin in this distressful time as she “takes her by the hand and says to her *cead mille failta*-a hundred thousand welcomes to you poor Erin.”<sup>13</sup> This merging of Irish and American symbols is emblematic of an emerging generation of Irish-Americans.

In 1851, as immigrant numbers start to decrease, a new masthead appears. This masthead pictures the Church embodied as a woman carrying a big cross with one hand and pointing to the sky with the other. On her left is an eagle, and on her right is a harp, both of which stand gloriously. In the sky, a bird flies freely. Representative of bright days, this masthead has neither Columbia nor Liberty. It may omit these figures because of the *Pilot*’s growing resentment towards America for not participating in the cause of Irish freedom. During this period, the paper reports and comments on the prejudice and discrimination experienced by the Irish Catholic on a

daily basis. Furthermore, the paper's discourse becomes heavily embedded with Catholicism because of attacks on the Church. However, in 1853, the figure of Columbia is reinstated in the masthead. This time, Columbia carries a sword and the eagle, which again has a shield. Erin plays her harp with a smile on her face while the same female figure with the cross from the previous masthead is preserved between the two figures. The masthead demonstrates the Catholic Irish-American identity of the *Pilot*, but the contents of the paper show that even though news and articles on the Church is present, news related to the Irish-American population is more prominent, giving a secular voice to the paper. In 1854, the masthead shows the papal tiara with a radiant colossal cross at the top, and two keys hanging upside down from the tiara. On the right side of the tiara, a cannon is draped with the American flag, and on the left a harp is entwined with clovers. Referring to the American and Irish symbols in the masthead, the *Pilot* comments:

They really met and became sisters under the shadow of the Cross, and in the spiritual bonds of the triple crown. Our design indicates that fact. The harp and the shamrock under the shadow of the Cross continue to typify Ireland—she has not yet drawn her sword. The hour and the man have not yet come. The cannon, you see,—particularly you, Irish American soldiers, is there to protect the Flag. Should it come to that, no arm will be more strong, more brave, more loyal than the arm of the adopted citizen soldier.<sup>14</sup>

The paper's commitment to the Church continues both in the masthead and the editorial, but the main highlight of this masthead is the sisterhood between the Irish and American nationalities. Printed material on the Church is not as abundant as it was in earlier volumes. The paper undergoes a far more radical change in its masthead in 1858, as the final name change occurs. In the first number of 1858, the figures disappear from the masthead, and only *The Pilot* nameplate

appears in bold Germanic blackletter. By the late 1860s, the choice of a Germanic blackletter nameplate had become prevalent (Barnhurst and Nerone 81). Also, by this time the paper is balancing its content related to the Church, Ireland and the US. Throughout the turbulent years of the Civil War, the nameplate remains the same. More news on abolitionism, war reports, and Union news appear, as the usual Irish news section and Catholicism preserve their position. In 1869, the paper introduces to the Germanic blackletter nameplate a new masthead. The *Pilot* describes the new masthead as an appropriate representative of its “objects and cause,” with

Boston Harbor, with a ship in full sail, the Stars and Stripes flying from her top-mast, bearing the products of other nations,--a PILOT boat approaching to convey the noble ship into safe harbor—the lighthouse—other small craft, etc. on the right is the flag of Old Ireland with the Harp,--on which is inscribed the letter P. (Pilot),--indicative of the future glory of our native land. The emblem of our salvation is not forgotten: under that sign shall we conquer.<sup>15</sup>

This masthead depicts a serene scene with the *Pilot* literally guiding its readers to safety. As the most self-descriptive masthead the paper uses, this new masthead suggests the awareness of the *Pilot* in maintaining its duty as the leading and guiding force in the lives of the Irish community in Boston and other parts of the States. The paper uses this masthead for two years, and in 1871 it reverts to the plain Germanic blackletter nameplate, which the paper uses up to this day. The absence of a masthead indicates that the *Pilot* no longer needs to publicize its identity. The readers already acknowledge its institutionalized Catholic Irish-American identity. In previous years, a graphic masthead was an appealing feature to readers, as it pictured scenes specifically addressing the difficulties or ideas shared by immigrants and naturalized citizens of Irish origin. Its first masthead showed the paper’s desire to trust the American government in its treatment of

the upheaval of the oppressed people of Ireland. Positioning Britain as the common enemy, the *Pilot* continued to expect American help during the Famine years. In 1851, this expectation is replaced by the depiction of America as an integral part of the Irish community, instead of a helpful force. Between 1851 and 1858, the *Pilot* uses the Church in its mastheads as the protective and connective power among the Irish community in the States. And in the 1869 masthead, it highlights its importance for its readers one last time. In the year 1871, however, the absence of the harp, eagle and the cross from the masthead implies that the *Pilot* does not need to mention these elements of its formation any longer, since now it is an institution, an establishment whose name speaks for itself.

### **The Ethnic Press: The *Pilot*'s Role as the Archive, Patriarch, and Print Media**

In the centenary edition, Cardinal O'Connell refers to the *Pilot*'s deliberate recording of Church related events, and adds, "that a history of the Church in this section of the country could be written from its treasured files."<sup>16</sup> The action of "recording" requires objectivity, with a camera-like gaze, and does not overlook details. In this sense, O'Connell is right about the *Pilot*'s role as a history recorder. But how true to history is the *Pilot* as a recorder? Is it objective or influenced by the prejudice towards the Irish community? Does this record count as an archive? I will answer these questions in this section before I move on to give some information on the characteristics of the ethnic press, and the *Pilot*'s participation in it.

If the archive requires recording, then newspapers are great founts of *archivable* material with what they offer to the reading public. As a meticulous recorder of events, newspapers offer a detailed history of the state, of the people, and of other institutions those people belong to. Their historical value lies in their presentation of this detailed information. O'Reilly, aware of

this historical and archival value of the newspaper, compares it to biography, yet another archival form, and offers an insight to today's historical researcher from the past:

Very often ... we read the biography of a man, who was born, lived, worked and died, and we put the book on our shelves out of respect for his memory. But the newspaper is the biography of something greater than a man—it is the biography of a Day. It is a photograph of twenty-four hours in length of the mysterious river of time that is sweeping past us for ever. And yet we take our year's newspapers, which contain more tales of sorrow and suffering, and joy and success, and ambition and defeat, and villainy and virtue, and we use them to light the fire. It is a strange fact that nobody prizes a newspaper for its abstract value until it is about a century out of date. It would seem that newspapers are like wine, the older they are, the more valuable. If we go into a library piled with books old and new, we may find it hard to select one to suit our taste. But let a man lay his hand on a newspaper of a hundred years ago, with its stained yellow pages and old fashioned type, and he is interested at once. He sits down and reads it all through, advertisements and news and editorials.<sup>17</sup>

As O'Reilly says, the print culture preserves so much information that it evolves into an archeological artifact in the hands of the researcher, hoping to unearth the unknown. Indeed, this written material is also important for its contemporary reading public since it is the mechanism that informs, directs, and shapes them for a better chance of continued survival linked to their adaptation to American values. Therefore, the *Pilot* is an archive, and its wide range of topics make it an interesting and informative one.



The formation of the archive requires a historical narrative that both guarantees facts and promises fiction. Lisa Lowe states it is the historical narrative that “constitutes, organizes, and gives structure, meaning, and finite contours to the historical past” (*Intimacies* 138). According to her “[o]nly by defamiliarizing both the object of the past and the established methods for apprehending the object do we make possible alternative forms of knowing, thinking, and being” (Lowe 137). As Lowe mentions, the creation of these alternative forms is conceivable through the deconstruction of our typical understanding and acquisition of history. The need for this alternative archive stems from the suspicion of codified beliefs in its formation, since “[t]he archive was the supreme technology of the late nineteenth-century imperial state, a repository of codified beliefs that clustered (and bore witness to) connections between secrecy, the law, and power” (Stoler 87). The *Pilot*, similar to Stoler’s statement, acknowledges the subjective power of the imperial archive, and fears that the codified beliefs regarding the Irish may lead American print media and archival institutions to disregard the contributions of Irish-Americans to the construction and preservation of the United States. Moreover, Stoler mentions the problems of authenticity and reliability regarding the content of the archive but also says that “[t]he task is less to distinguish fiction from fact than to track the production and consumption of those ‘facts’ themselves” (91). She views “history-writing as a charged political act,” an act that is not free from the rule of state power (Stoler 92). The inscription of history turns into an arena for power demonstration for the politically empowered party and is unjust in being a one-sided record. Unless an alternative version of history writing is created, the politically disadvantaged will not be heard among other voices. Historical narrative has a perpetual relationship with memory, and memory, as Yerushalmi says, is selective (10). Thus, history writers choose what to include and what to leave out, what to preserve and what to change in this narrative. The parts that are left

out evolve into a dictated forgetting under the hegemonical power of the creators of history. The dictated forgetting is a similar form of collective forgetting, which is “at least as problematic a notion as collective memory” (Yerushalmi 108). Collective forgetting is applicable to many misdeeds and inglorious acts of power authorities; it is the result of archival creation and history writing under the influence of establishing an ever-victorious, independent and powerful government. Always directed by those in power, dictated forgetting requires the submissive party to comply with the presented events worthy of remembrance. Therefore, the hegemony needs a hierarchy of power relations and purposeful memory selection for the formation of the archive. Mindful of Derrida’s thoughts on the archive, it would not exist if there were no hierarchization and order (30). And order is arrangement and regulation, a structure in itself that requires regulating and being regulated.

Since its first establishment by Bishop Fenwick, all of the editors and proprietors were male, with the only exception of Katherine Conway. Therefore, the *Pilot* of the nineteenth-century spoke in the male voice for the majority of its publication life. Even though female fiction writers were often published in the *Pilot*, their narrative voice also mirrored the general patriarchal ideas of the ideal woman as domestic-bound and devotedly Christian. The first two serialized fictions I analyze in the following chapters are examples of this patriarchal tone, and the last two fictional works I look at in the last chapter offer an alternative female figure that steps outside the domestic space and into the most male of spaces—the battlefield. However, they are restored to ideal womanhood at the end by marriage and re-confinement to the domestic space. In addition to this treatment of women in patriarchal terms, the *Pilot*’s all-protective character further supports the formation of a paternal tone. As an alternative to the nativist archive, the *Pilot* creates a parallelism between two versions of history and uses this as a way to

reinforce its position as the defender of the Catholic and Irish community in the US. This defender identity as well as its guide identity grants the *Pilot* a patriarchal role in the community. Also, the role of the Church with its resonating patriarchy and paternal sentiments in identifying the paper is unquestionable. Moreover, the long years of Donahoe proprietorship and his contributions to the paper authorize him as a paternal figure that guides the community. The advice columns and guides published in the *Pilot* under his proprietorship also highlight the inexperienced and naive nature of the “greenhorns,” who need direction. This positioning of the management of the *Pilot* as an all-knowing force in comparison to the masses of inept immigrants forms a power structure with the *Pilot* as the paternal figure protecting and guiding the childlike immigrant. Furthermore, as the figure that protects and defends its community, the *Pilot* creates serialized works that act as an archive within themselves. Laffan’s “Records of Irish-American Patriotism,” which I will analyze in Chapter IV, is a great example of an alternative archive formation as it collects, preserves and shares Irish-American valor in the Civil War, and thus creates an archive that eventually becomes a powerful alternative archive. Within the normative authorization of the paternal voice, the Irish community grants the *Pilot* the role of the patriarch, since it is one of the few institutions that stands up for them and puts their good before every other.

In 1851, the *Pilot* proceeds to defend the rights of its children once more. Mentioning an advertisement ordered to be published in every Protestant daily paper of Boston, in the article “The City Advertising,” the *Pilot* questions why its community of 20,000 subscribers is left out of this informative advertisement cycle that affects each Boston citizen. According to the paper, the answer lies in the discrimination of the Irish Catholic population by Protestant City Authorities, who intentionally exclude them from attaining information that they deserve to

know along with all the other citizens of the city. The Irish Catholic community of Boston is discriminated against, according to the *Pilot*, and “Every intelligent citizen of Boston knows, every candid one must acknowledge, that there is no class of our community so badly treated by the police, and by a large portion of the members of the city councils, as the Irish, who are often hunted down unfairly, persecuted unjustly, for their religious and social opinions, and then accused of being ‘poor ignorant devils’ ...”<sup>18</sup> There are no details as to the nature of this city advertisement, but exclusion is the provocative point for the *Pilot*. As the patriarch of the community, it defends their rights as citizens and points out the discrimination and in doing so records and archives the exclusion of its readership base because of their faith.

These consolidated duties of patriarch and archive are not objective, though. The *Pilot* starts its publication life with the purpose of defending the Catholic faith, and this purpose evolves into defending the Catholic Irish-American. As a result, the paper undertakes the mission of guardian for immigrants, liable to be deceived by sharks and naturalized citizens, and whose hyphenated American identity does not prevent their discrimination on the grounds of religion. The role of the immigrant and ethnic press is undeniable in this matter of protection since they offer advice, warning, and guidance in print form. And one of the specific reasons for the guidance of the immigrant on the pages of the *Pilot* is the presidency of Patrick Donahoe at the Irish Emigrant Society. An advert for the Society states that its aim is to protect the immigrant “from the various impositions practiced upon them on their arrival here, to encourage them to proceed to the West, and to aid those of them who are destitute, to go to their friends in the country.”<sup>19</sup> Donahoe’s role as the president of immigrant and Irish institutions such as the Irish Emigrant Society, the Emigrant Savings Bank, the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, Boston Charitable Irish Society, and so on, further imposes fatherly protection and paternal love by way

of the execution of the institutionalized ethnic press, the *Pilot* (Crimmins 356). This reinforced the *Pilot's* place as an institution and alternative archive as well as a stabilized and powerful ethnic press. The *Pilot* can also be identified as an immigrant press during the 50s, which led to the rise of the paper following the large amount of readers continually immigrating into the States. The difference between immigrant and ethnic press, according to historian Sally Miller, is that the first provides material necessary for the immigrant whereas the latter outlives the immigrant press, serving those who continue to maintain their ethnic identity in a foreign country (xii). The large numbers of Irish immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century led to a narrative serving their adjustment, but the Irish people's continued relationship to Ireland as well as to Catholicism, established it as an ethnic newspaper. Its role in the guidance of the Irish community is suggestive of the power of the press in general, since:

As a whole, it was informational, carrying news of the country of origin, of compatriots elsewhere in the United States, and, of course, of the local community. It expressed a group's values, heritage, and changing sense of identity. It also socialized its reader to the United States as it educated and became a tool of adjustment. And it promoted group pride as well as economic and political power. (S. Miller xv and xvi)

In order to understand this transformation from an immigrant to an ethnic newspaper, I analyze the paper chronologically in the following chapters. Its leading role to the immigrants of the Famine generation reveals itself in the didactic literature of guidance in 1850 and 1851. When immigration ceases, and the immigrants are under pressure to settle and labor in the heat of nativism, the *Pilot* guides them once again, which actually marks the start of its transformation from an immigrant to an ethnic newspaper. As Walsh says, the *Pilot's* rise happened under the

shadow of nativism, and as a result the paper “sought to provide the Irish with a source of support to help them enter the mainstream of American society” (“The Boston” 6). The paper’s constant calls for assimilation and naturalization made during 1851 are repeated in 1854 and 1855. Moreover, the Civil War years acted as the perfect means for the *Pilot* to transform immigrants and naturalized citizens into Irish-American patriots. In this process, the paper’s rhetoric completes its transformation into an ethnic newspaper; as it now makes it its priority to guide the naturalized citizen into the mainstream American nation, rather than guiding the immigrant into the ways and values of the American society. By this time, the *Pilot* guides Irish-Americans into a military force to fight for the Union, and uses its didactic rhetorical power for this end.

The press has a didactic role, since their proprietors and/or editors are men of prominence and readers look to them for approval or guidance “in knowing what opinions it was right and wise to hold in regard to the great questions of the day” (Salmon 249). For many Irish Catholics it was important to have an opinion on political matters in Ireland. According to Robert Park, the reason behind the immigrant’s interest in attaining news from the old country is the desire to overcome the unfamiliarity of the new country, and an ever-growing desire for connection with kinship. I agree with Park’s opinion that the press is especially effective in maintaining a patriotic relationship when the immigrant’s native land is struggling with political oppression. However, I disagree with him when he says that by diverting the attention of the immigrant away from American incidents, the press aimed “to keep him apart from American life” (Park 50-51). His argument is that the foreign immigrant press is against assimilation based on the strengthened sense of nationalism towards the immigrant’s native land. However, the case is quite different with the *Pilot*, which encouraged its readers to assimilate. It is also interesting that

the studies on the nineteenth-century *Pilot* categorize it only as a Catholic newspaper. David Noel Doyle argues that the first examples of Irish journalism are political, but adds that the *Pilot* is one of the “explicitly Catholic periodicals” (195). Notwithstanding, the secular literature and narrative present in the *Pilot* shows that the paper produced material not only for the Catholic readership but also for a changing Irish-American community. The antebellum decades stand out with the demand from readers for secular literature including “history, biography, and travel literature,” as well as “novels, tales, and sketches” to be incorporated into their reading diet, which had previously heavily comprised religious works (M. Kelley 56). Catholic journalism helped Irish-American fiction to flourish, as many literary works appeared in serialized form in Catholic journals, especially offering a chance to Irish-American women writers (Fanning *The Irish Voice* 161).

Increasing population and literacy rates, as well as technological advancements such as house lights, cheap materials and better publishing equipment, and the increasing number of women readers, offered an apt environment for the growth of the reading public in the nineteenth-century (Lund 44; Mott 304; Schudson *Discovering* 35). Free public schools and the accessibility of newspapers and magazines due to the “expansion of the distribution system with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869,” also led to the growth of readership and the increase in sales (Johanningsmeier 331). Authors tended to write novels because of the “double-pay” they received, since they received money both for the serialization of their work in the paper and its publication in book form (Charvat 56). Novels became a popular form of entertainment since by the mid-nineteenth century the belief that the novel constituted a dangerous problem to the morals of the society had ceased (Casper 135). The *Pilot* had published a short piece in 1840 on the dangers of novels written by Hannah More, who stated that the

reader was in danger of possible moral degeneration by regular exposure to fictional works, even the profitable ones. More declared, “the habitual indulgence in such reading is a silent, mining mischief.”<sup>20</sup> However, as the prejudice towards the novel ceased to a degree, as Casper says, readers became more involved with reading these works. As the newspapers acknowledged the popularity of this trend, the *Pilot* offered “profitable, “and “harmless” literature to their fiction readers, most of whom were women and children. For example, in Mary Anne Sadlier’s “Willy Burke, or The Irish Orphan in America,” the author has the same concern, where she depicts the faithful brother Willy in search of a religiously didactic book such as “The Lives of the Saints, and the History of the Bible,” because this, according to him, is “the kind of readin’ we want, for it teaches us to how to save our souls, and besides, how to live in this world.” The unfaithful and unsuccessful brother Peter, on the other hand, is looking for a storybook similar to the “Irish Rogues an’ Rapparees,” because of its interesting narrative.<sup>21</sup> This shows that through the fictional material it provided, the *Pilot* warned its readers not to yield to the temptation of reading fiction that was harmful and non-informative. Serialized novels of a didactic nature appeared in the *Pilot* in instalments, and this was used as a means to sustain the continued support of readers. The appeal of a new work by a renowned author was so big that the *Pilot* would advertise the fictional work that would be published in the new year. This was a strategy to gather more subscribers; it further reinforces the newspaper’s position as a vehicle of the shared experience since people would share the paper with their acquaintances and the paper would be read out aloud, making it accessible to each member of a household (Lund 54, 78). Therefore, one copy of the paper was of use to multiple people or multiple families, and acts of sharing and reading aloud helped to spread the *Pilot*’s teachings to a growing circle of readers. As to the subject of reading the paper out loud, an anonymous writer, whose lessons will be



analyzed in Chapter Three, says that this action is advantageous both to the parent and children for it creates a home environment, educates family members, and enhances their culture.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, if the paper belongs to a family, it should be used to inform, and elevate the knowledge of each member of the household. However, the *Pilot* has a different idea on the subject of sharing the paper with the community. Approaching this matter humorously, the *Pilot* asks, “Why is a newspaper like a tooth brush?” and then answers that instead of borrowing the paper from neighbors, every household should purchase one of their own.<sup>23</sup>

As Michael Schudson states, “there is a ritual model that takes communication to be a social function of building solidarity and reaffirming common values within a community” (“Three” 426). This function reinforces Anderson’s statement regarding imagined communities, where unknown people gather around an ideal to form a community. Newspapers are one of the means the scattered members of this community use to form and maintain a continuing relationship with the rest of the community. According to Schudson, the print culture of the nineteenth-century is not only an institution itself but also a forum of advertising properties that helps the creation of other institutions, as it provided “a community identity that held a city together when it was no longer a face-to-face community or even a ‘walking city”’ (“Three” 429). It is the platform where people communicated with each other in a period where communication was neither accessible nor fast. In this sense, the *Pilot*’s institutionalized print media identity offers the immigrant a platform where s/he can maintain a conversation with the rest of the Irish community—whether in Boston, in Ireland or in any other parts of the United States—to search for their missing friends and relatives, to complain about labor conditions on the railroads, to force themselves into the discussion of national belonging, and so on.

The newspaper as an institution provides its readers a means of participation in political, religious, and social matters. The *Pilot* was a social institution that started with the aim of molding the ethnic and national identities of the Irish immigrant population in Boston and in turn became a vital instrument in Irish immigrant culture. In order to maintain the institutionalized identity of the paper, the *Pilot* chose specific narratives that mold the immigrant and improve the citizen to specifically address the problems encountered every day. The narrative is therefore an essential point since it “is used to reproduce the institution, continue or challenge its power structures, induct new members, create the identity of the institution and its members, adapt to change, and deal with contested or contradictory versions of the past” (Linde 243). It is this form of narrative that connects members of a community under an identity as they are processed in these institutions. McGill suggests that the prominence of reprinted texts in different print media “created a sense of near-simultaneity that was crucial to the imagination of the federal form of the nation” (107). Similar to this, I argue that the *Pilot* included the Irish immigrant and the naturalized Irish-American into the nationalistic discourse through the narratives it used. The paper’s self-archival material relating to the patriotism of the Irish soldiers, Presidential speeches, and the published letters of soldiers from the war scene, further motivated the Irish to work for inclusion in the American community. My argument about Anderson’s imagined communities is that the newspaper forms the connection necessary for the formation of a community, but that this belonging to an imagined community occurs through the processing of the individual through the mechanism of the institution. The *Pilot*’s institutionalized entity led its readers to imagine how they formed a community, a community divided between Ireland and the US, between urban and rural America, but a community that still belonged to each other. Throughout its publication, Patrick Donahoe’s *Pilot* strove to be an arena where Irish immigrants

continued their communication with their native land and with each other. Within this discourse, the *Pilot* as an institution acquired a new role: the role of an asset to bring together readers in this imagined community using letters from the readers.

### **The Irish and their use of the *Pilot***

Due to the devastating Great Famine of 1845 in Ireland, 1.8 million Irish immigrated to North America between the years of 1845 and 1855 (K. Miller 280). In 1851, the United States Secretary of State Daniel Webster mentions in a speech that immigration is an unstoppable case. According to Webster, immigration will continue. Opposition to it is useless, and the only logical thing that the citizens can do is to demonstrate the obligations of naturalization to the immigrants. Their duty is a didactic one, with Webster underlining the importance of striving “to instill an American heart into all their [immigrants’] bosoms.”<sup>24</sup> Immigration did not stop, just as Webster foresaw, and until 1910 a great number of Irish immigrants amounting to 2,862,912 arrived in the United States (K. Miller 569).

According to Kerby Miller, Irish immigrants of the nineteenth-century viewed themselves as exiles driven out of their country by famine and British rule. The majority of the Famine immigrants were Catholics with little education, who lacked financial means (Kenny *The American Irish* 99). However, there were also influential names among Irish immigrants such as Thomas F. Meagher and John Mitchel, who came to America as exiles after an unsuccessful rebellion attempt (Kenny “American-Irish” 290). Miller, unlike Theodore Allen, believes that Irish nationality and Fenian love were part of the Irish immigrant’s identity in America. The connection of the Irish immigrants and Irish-American citizens to their country, especially through difficult times of oppression and poverty, led Americans to label them as unassimilable.

The question of nationality was not the only problematic area for the Irish community, unfortunately. Besides the differences in faith, they were also discriminated on grounds of labor. The vast numbers of unskilled Irish laborers ended up working in physically demanding manual jobs, which resulted in their racial alignment with slaves. Actually, this “metonymical relation between slaves and physical labor had brought into disgrace a number of occupations, including domestic service, thus rendering them impossible for many capable white men and women of the lower classes” (Buonomo 63). The Irish, however, preferred and sometimes had to work in these jobs disregarding the racial implications. By keeping the Irish immigrant and the African-American slave in the same class, the Protestant Americans distanced themselves from these two groups, emphasizing their economic standing and social superiority. Miller documents the Irish immigrant’s journey from working class to the middle and upper classes and says that this social recovery started in the early 1870s when “the Irish rise to respectability helped assuage native American fears, predominant at mid-century, that Irish Catholic immigrants constituted a dangerous, unassimilable, and permanent proletariat” (K. Miller 496). Handlin on the other hand believes that the social and political rise of the Irish raised concerns among the nativists, who were concerned they may become the authority. He says that the dominant group disregarded the newcomers and did not feel a need “to limit social and political rights or privileges until the ideals of the newcomers threatened to replace those of the old society” (Handlin 198). The Irish complete their transformation to Americans by playing the superiority card, and “embracing the opportunities which the New World afforded” (K. Miller 493). Accordingly, the Irish climb the social ladder and as a previously oppressed race become “part of an oppressing race in America” (Ignatiev 2).

As the number of immigrants increased following the Famine, new organizations and institutions were established to guide them in the new country. The Irish Emigrant Society was only one of these immigrant-friendly organizations that warned the immigrant about the difficulties awaiting them in the adjustment process and guided them about accommodation and labor (M. Casey 306). The Society gave reports on the pages of the *Pilot* mentioning their finances and asking the community to join in the goal of helping the immigrant start a new life as “the trifling amount invested will be returned sevenfold in the prayers and blessings of those who are assisted and protected from the impositions too often practiced upon them.”<sup>25</sup> The importance of creating a self-supporting community of Irish immigrants and naturalized citizens was implied in these pleas, highlighting the holy reward of such a good action. Immigrants were therefore assisted by their countrymen, and the power of these societies and organizations. These networks aided newcomers as they travelled to the States, and upon their arrival in the country (Meagher 617). Catholic institutions were also organs of this network as they navigated the immigrant away from the Protestant institutions such as schools, hospitals and asylums (Quinn 228). Moreover, the *Pilot* provided support to the Irish immigrant and naturalized citizens on financial, political, and cultural matters because of its position as an institution. The *Pilot* offered the Irish community in the States much-needed help, not only with the guidance and advice it offered on its pages, but also with columns that gave a voice to its readers.

The Irish community used the *Pilot* for various reasons. First and foremost, they used the “information wanted” column to reach out to missing family members and friends. According to the information offered on the website of the Boston College Libraries on this column, its first appearance dates back to 1831 and continued up until 1921.<sup>26</sup> In the early numbers of the paper, the ‘information wanted’ column constitutes only a small fragment of the *Pilot*. However, as the

immigrant population increases, and as more families are separated in pursuit of labor and migration to the West, the column requires a larger space. Later it is also organized according to county and city in Ireland, to make the cataloging and, thus, the access of its readers to this section and their missing friends easier. The *Pilot* is proud of its ability to connect the community with the help of this column, and in an ad, it says, “Our readers must see from the number of advertisements of this class, the immense and increasing popularity of the PILOT. It is the only medium through which people can find their friends” [emphasis in the original].<sup>27</sup> The *Pilot* says that the reason behind the popularity of the paper’s information wanted column is its success in finding the missing friends, as it states, “more than three-fourths of those advertised for are found.”<sup>28</sup> This column also shows how the Irish used the paper to search for dead or living relatives, sometimes just to know their whereabouts, and sometimes to settle inheritance matters. Some advertisers even offer rewards for exchange of information about missing persons. This column features many missing friend ads, and these ads show how the advertisers rely on information provided by unknown members of this imagined community, of which they too are members.

The community also used the *Pilot* as a financial arena for advertising Irish owned businesses. Doctors, lawyers, tailors, grocers, pharmacists, teachers, liquor stores, Catholic schools, publishers, and so on, all advertised their businesses on the pages of the *Pilot*. The advertisements for Irish-owned businesses would attract the attention of the Irish community, since they, like many other immigrant communities, preferred to live close to others of their ethnic group. Therefore, the *Pilot* brought the customer and the business-owner together, helping the financial improvement of the Irish community. The readers also used the *Pilot* to send money and prepaid passage tickets to Ireland. The process of sending Ireland money and tickets was a

risky situation before the mid-nineteenth century, and the *Pilot* became one of the “major conduits of remittances” (K. Miller 357). The Irish readership of the paper, therefore, trusted in the *Pilot* not only as an educational and progressive institution, but relied on it as a financial institution as well.

The *Pilot* received many letters from the readers that exchanged ideas on political and social issues and it published those letters to convey their ideas to other Irishmen. Thus, the readers used the *Pilot* as a forum to discuss and share their opinions on contemporary matters. I will give two examples, one of which is on the support the *Pilot* receives from a subscriber on its abolitionist stance, and the other one is written to elevate the Catholics over the Jews. The first one is written during the Civil War, and it celebrates the *Pilot* for not supporting abolitionists. The author of the letter, states “it is the duty of all IRISHMEN to support in every possible manner THE PILOT, a paper that so ably, nobly and defiantly is attached to only the welfare and interests of our race” [emphasis in the original].<sup>29</sup> The letters published during the Civil War suggest where the Irish stand on the subject of abolitionism. Of course, some readers of the *Pilot* were anti-abolitionist, and I will talk about one specific letter of this nature in the fourth chapter. Nevertheless, blacks were not the only racial group the readers resented. In a letter addressed to the editor, a correspondent feels insulted by the news of the bad treatment and difficult conditions of the Jews in Rome in a paper named the *Journal*. After stating that Jews have been cursed and that this curse “has scattered them over the whole earth,” he says that they are safe and free in Rome, more than in any other place in the world. He adds that Rome has given more privileges to Jews than any other civilized nation and moves on to compare their situation to that of the Irish in Massachusetts. The author says that Irish Catholics are “rather tolerated” in the “land of stars and stripes.” In opposition to the freedom of the Jews, he states ironically that the

Irish Catholic working-man “enjoy the transcendent and inestimable advantage of having their children kidnapped by some holy missionary, and apprenticed afar off from his home, their names taken away, and their religion *forced* out of them!”<sup>30</sup> He states that Rome provides the Jew the freedom the Irish Catholic does not experience in the United States because of the Protestant’s enmity towards them. The *Pilot*’s hostile attitude towards the Jew surfaces in the commentary on the letter. The *Pilot* further highlights the phenomenon of the curse and attributes a physical sign to the Jew, whom it deems a cursed wanderer carrying “the mark of Cain stamped upon his face.”<sup>31</sup> This resentment towards the Jews is an example of how the reader and the paper collaborate with each other on a matter that at first is injurious to the Catholic faith but becomes a means of propaganda for the treatment the Irish Catholic receives in the United States. Protestant institutions and Protestants were also subjected to the criticism of readers and the paper. In a controversial instance, a reader writes to Bishop John Bernard Fitzpatrick to complain about a criticism he has received from the *Pilot* on the grounds of his previous Protestantism. He questions the authority of the paper’s editors on the commentary of religious belonging, asking, “if any present condition as a newly received member of the Catholic Church is properly open to the criticism of Catholic editors!”<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the *Pilot* is accused of using its narrative in an authoritative tone to unjustly shame a reader and in return is subjected to criticism.

For some Irish readers, the *Pilot* was a means of self-development, to improve their knowledge, social standing, and to learn ways of protecting themselves from the effects of discrimination. For some readers, the *Pilot* is “beneficial” to the Irish “in many respects,” and they suggest this as a reason why other Irish people should also subscribe to the paper.<sup>33</sup> Readers appreciate the *Pilot* for the quality of the fictional and editorial work it offers to the reader, which contribute greatly to the paper’s development and “captivate[s] all readers, unlearned as well as



learned.”<sup>34</sup> These letters sent by the readers also demonstrate the attitude of Irish-Americans in the face of prejudice and discrimination, and therefore indicate the social reaction of these hyphenated people to their anti-Catholic and anti-Irish experiences. In July 1854, a reader writes to the *Pilot* from Canada West, saying that it is justly entitled to carry its name, because of its position as a Catholic Irish-American paper. He says, “it is a reliable Pilot, steering Irishmen through stormy seas and roaring, billows of bigotry and prejudice, through which an Irish Roman Catholic must go wherever he travels in America, and in particular if he hold a public situation.”<sup>35</sup> The reader mentions the guidance role of the paper, and most importantly highlights how the Irish community is using the *Pilot* as a guide for managing the prejudice and hate encountered by Catholics.

Finally, the readers use the *Pilot* to complain about work conditions and contractors, to warn fellow laborers about the injustices experienced in manual jobs, and to demand their rights as laborers. In 1850, a reader complains about the unjust treatment of laborers by contractors on the Troy and Rutland Railroad, and in a letter to the *Pilot* he says,

Are we in a Christian country? or do these poor people run away from the tyrant landlords in Ireland to be more cruelly persecuted by the worse than savage brutality of some of these Railroad Bosses in America? Here, on this line, the men are at work from 4 in the morning until 8 at night, for 75 cents a day; and when a man goes for his pay, he is *cursed*, abused, and beaten in the most barbarous manner. [...] [they] are in every way worse off than the black slaves of the South.<sup>36</sup>

The reader lists the reasons for dissatisfaction as low wages and bad treatment of laborers as well as their families by contractors. Thus, the reader uses the *Pilot* as a forum to reveal the labor

conditions under the supervision of Americans. Almost one year later, another letter appears in the *Pilot* complaining about the same railroad. The letter is signed by a J. Ryan, together with “fifty more besides,” who complains about how a native contractor ran off with the pay of the laborers, and how the other contractor forces them to work more for less pay. Ryan states that the strikes result from the injustice of their bad treatment, and he addresses the *Pilot* as the only channel of justice. He says, “the poor railroad men have no justice to get or expect now, in this country, except what the advocacy of the *Boston Pilot*, and such other friends of the laboring man do for us, by holding up to public execration, such monsters as we have for bosses on these public works, and so we crave a place in your journal, for this letter.”<sup>37</sup> Similar letters advise other laborers not to work at certain railroads in an effort to help members of their community. These letters state the abuses encountered working under native-born Americans and suggest how Irish laborers feared the prospect of being “murdered by these cruel yankee bosses.”<sup>38</sup>

So, these are some of the ways the members of the Irish community in the States used the *Pilot* for their own needs. Sometimes this need was to bring together the missing members of the family, sometimes to attain financial profit by advertising Irish-owned businesses, and to send remittances and passage tickets to Ireland in a safe way; at times, they needed the *Pilot* to explain their ideas and sentiments on political, racial and social matters by offering political commentary, at other times the need was self-development with the help of the print matter, and sometimes it was the obligation of the laborer to warn and inform fellow laborers, and to demand justice. These letters suggest the indispensability of belonging to a community, imagined or real, as they are written with fellow citizens, fellow immigrants, and fellow laborers in mind. The power of the print media renders them the ability to reach out to a large number of fellow Irishmen, as a result of which “readers thousands of miles apart are by the newspaper brought

into oneness of mind” (Salmon 472). The creation of this imagined community through the *Pilot* was an important development for Irishmen scattered around the country because it contributed to the creation of a unique Irish-American community.

The *Pilot* was a landmark of Irish-American culture throughout the nineteenth-century. With its long and remarkable history and its policy to elevate the Catholic Irish-American, the *Pilot* demonstrates the influence of print culture on a community, and stands as the example of how the operation of an institution can contribute to the welfare of a people. In the next chapter, I start looking at the creation of this unique Irish-American community in more detail as I analyze the *Pilot*’s discourse on the subjects of assimilation and immigrant guidance.

## **Chapter II: “Which is better? To have them grow up assimilated to American ways ... or have them remain foreigners ...?”: <sup>1</sup> Guiding the Irish Emigrant**

“He has been informed, perhaps, that beyond the Atlantic lies the Land of Liberty, the Model Republic, where all men are as nearly on an equality as the present diversified structure of society can well admit. He has been told that the stranger will there find a welcome, the exile a country, the houseless a home, the landless a farm, the laborer employment, the naked clothing, and the hungry food. He has heard that plenty there abounds, and that want is unknown. ... The utopia of the imagination, is not the United States of our experience.”<sup>2</sup>

Surviving the trans-Atlantic voyage signified the beginning of a life filled with hardships for many Irish immigrants. What came after the voyage, their first interactions with American landlords, tenement-houses, employment agencies, sharks, and the culture shock, marked the next phase of their American experience. The Irish immigrants used experiences transmitted by fellow countrymen in letters, memories of immigrants who returned to or visited Ireland, books, and lastly print media to learn about the things that awaited them in the New World. They searched for ways that would enable them to flourish in the US and prevent them from material and religious deterioration.

In this chapter, I will analyze the *Pilot*'s role in the adjustment process through a reading of Reverend J. O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States,"<sup>3</sup> Mary Anne Sadlier's "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America,"<sup>4</sup> certain news articles published simultaneously with the "The Irish Emigrant's Guide," and John Tighe's "Lessons on Naturalization." Through this reading, I will break down the guidance and advice provided by

the *Pilot* to its readers in order to understand the ideal acculturation process propagandized by the paper. It is my aim to show that the paper aimed to create an ideal Irish-American citizen with the guidance it provided. According to the analyzed content, this ideal Irish-American maintained strong ties to the motherland, remained Catholic, worked hard to earn a respected position in American society, became white, and most importantly became a legal citizen to obtain the political rights and the economic prosperity it presented.

The guidance offered by the *Pilot* on the subjects of American hegemony and power structures was an invaluable source for the immigrant, considering the difficulty of the poor classes in acquiring viable knowledge. Therefore, in this chapter, I analyze “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” (1851) in terms of two goals—becoming American and remaining Irish Catholic—in order to present a coherent understanding of O’Hanlon’s advice. One reason for this is the convenience it offers to the readers to see the main subjects the guide dwells on. Mary Ann Sadlier’s fictional work “Willy Burke” (1850) is presented as a slightly different take on the ideal immigrant the *Pilot* tries to construct. The novel concentrates on the Catholic faith during the process of acculturation, whereas “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” offers guidance on a variety of topics ranging from health to naturalization. The points where fiction and non-fiction intermix and diverge will show the vital information according to each genre.

I will also focus on the theory of whiteness as I study the theme of white slavery, naturalization and property ownership as presented in the *Pilot*. It is important to see why the *Pilot* views the Irish as downtrodden white people and how it transmits that idea to the immigrant through the use of repeated news articles, editorials, guides and fiction. Here, I state that the *Pilot* plays an important role in the expansion of the acquisition of whiteness among Boston’s Irish immigrants. I also state that it was this discourse that shaped the immigrant’s

racial discourse towards other groups of ethnicities, specifically blacks. In short, this chapter focuses on two of the *Pilot's* primary messages: how to acculturate to and survive in the American society on a basic level, and how to become white to prosper in the States.

### **Reverend J. O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide:" Citizens by Guidance**

An advertisement on April 5, 1851, announces the publication of "one of the most important works for Emigrants ever issued in the United States."<sup>5</sup> The advertised work is "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" written by Reverend J. O'Hanlon, in which he aspires to provide Irish immigrants information to further their Americanization. In order to do this, he first explains his aim to present the United States without the romantic and picturesque perspective of the traveler. The target audience of this guide is not only the Irish immigrants on American soil but also a large population of prospective immigrants. O'Hanlon states that he writes this guide with the poor classes of Irish immigrants in mind, hoping it serves to elevate the individual, social and national prosperity of the immigrant. However, he does not forget to add that immigrants of other nationalities can also benefit from it. Taking out the romantic and utopian ideas of the New World, O'Hanlon proceeds to depict a more realistic idea for the immigrant as he lists the difficulties awaiting the immigrant before his departure, on the ship and upon his arrival in America. According to O'Hanlon, the immigrant "finds himself a stranger in a strange land, without a roof to shelter him or land to cultivate, in want of food or clothing, and instead of procuring employment and wages which would enable him to provide those necessities of life, he finds hundreds reduced to the same miserable condition, whose most patient and persevering efforts, like his own, had proved unsuccessful."<sup>6</sup> The introduction O'Hanlon makes to "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" foreshadows the injustices and hardships that will be mentioned on the pages

of the *Pilot*. “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” points to the unavailability of information for the immigrant as the source of these difficulties and sets out to offer a better future in the United States by providing the necessary information needed for the process of immigration and acculturation.

“The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” was published in the *Pilot* between April 12, 1851, and June 14, 1851, in eighteen instalments. The week following the first chapters of the guide, the *Pilot* published an advertisement mentioning the interest the readers showed in it. The paper even printed “an extra number” seeing the demand, and said the readers “sending for their friends in Ireland, would do well to send them the *Pilot* containing the Guide.”<sup>7</sup> On June 14, 1851, the paper announced that “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” would be published in book form the subsequent week, and would be sold for 25 cents.<sup>8</sup> Even though it is difficult to track down the numbers of sales in its bound-copy form, it is still plausible to consider that it reached many *Pilot* readers and their circle of acquaintances and guided them through the process of immigration.

O’Hanlon, an immigrant himself, mentions “the necessity of a guide to direct” the Irish immigrant as he “leaves his home and his country without that amount of practical information necessary for him, or which would enable him to push his fortune with advantage to himself, in the country of his adoption.”<sup>9</sup> Essentially, the “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” teaches the immigrant and the adopted citizen how he “must endeavor to assimilate himself, in a great measure, to those traits of national habits, manners, and characters.”<sup>10</sup> Teaching the immigrant the appropriate and acceptable ways of assimilation into American ways, O’Hanlon counsels the immigrants on the necessity of adaptation to the values of their new country. In the guide, he offers information on subjects of importance to the newly arrived or prospective immigrants, and

furthermore offers them advice on how to survive and prosper under those conditions. In the meantime, the paper publishes news articles and editorials on the fear of white slavery, the necessity of naturalization to attain citizenship rights, and the importance of property ownership. The material published in the *Pilot*, other than “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide,” works harmoniously for the purpose of informing the immigrant on these specific subjects.

O’Hanlon mentions various steps for the immigrant in his path to naturalization in “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide.” In this section, I will summarize those steps towards guided citizenship under two categories. The first step informs the reader about how to become an American by following O’Hanlon’s advice on matters of naturalization, assimilation, compliance, economics, and race. The second step instructs the reader on how to remain Irish despite all these newly acquired American characteristics, and that is through the preservation of the Catholic faith and a restrained pride in the Irish nationality. These steps demonstrate that the ideal Irish-American citizen, according to O’Hanlon, needs to resemble Americans in their social and economic traits but remain Irish Catholic as a moral and religious trait. It is also important to note that O’Hanlon was a clergyman himself. I suggest that his advice, such as the immigrant’s compliance with the laws of the country and abstaining from alcohol, are shaped by his desire to guide the immigrant not solely towards the values of Protestant Americans but also towards a more solid Catholic identity. The data obtained from “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” shows that O’Hanlon was aware of the stereotypes about his countrymen, and that his agenda included changing those stereotypes by directing the newcomers to adopt personal traits which are acceptable to American and Irish communities simultaneously.



## **I. How to Become an American?**

Naturalization, of course, is the legal way to become an American. O'Hanlon mentions other aspects of the American identity the Irish should absorb on their way to naturalization. The first of these steps is assimilation. O'Hanlon believes that the Irish immigrant should assimilate in order to show gratitude. Nevertheless, the immigrant must not forget Ireland. O'Hanlon specifically suggests the immigrant should not boast of his homeland since it would suggest that the immigrant is not fully assimilated into American culture. He is afraid that this may taint the naturalization of the immigrant, being viewed as an insincere act in the eyes of native-born Americans. The continuous calls made by the *Pilot* for immigrants to assimilate also suggest that the Irish community who had immigrated beforehand to the US was anxious to update their current status to Americans in the eyes of the native-born Americans. O'Hanlon remarks that many character traits of native-born Americans are acceptable and that it is "a principle duty or politeness to adopt these practices."<sup>11</sup> The practice of assimilation does not consist of imitating or mimicking the native-born Americans, though. According to O'Hanlon even if an Irish person tries to imitate an American, others will still recognize him as Irish. He says, "[a]lthough, 'to hold, as 't were, the mirror up to nature' had been the object of the actors, yet, from some strange distortions in the objects of reflectors, the 'modesty of nature' had been o'erstepped, and the effect on the whole appeared indescribably ludicrous."<sup>12</sup> According to him, assimilation means the acquisition of manners and ideas rather than assuming a superficial American appearance. Therefore, the Irish should make a successful attempt at maintaining a loyal national connection and patriotism to their land of adoption. American patriotism leads "the individual to conceive himself an incorporated part of the nation, and, as such, bound to fulfill the duties and obligations of patriot and citizen."<sup>13</sup> However, acknowledging American patriotism does not

mean that the love of Ireland should be abolished in all senses. On the contrary, the Irish should reflect back on and mention their country's positive sides, preserving national pride. This is a fine line, though since the adopted citizen should also be careful not to let the native-born Americans think that he values Ireland more than America.

Following assimilation, the first thing the Irish are supposed to do is to become naturalized. Indeed, the Irish were quick to recognize the importance of inclusion into American politics, and both "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" and the *Pilot* directed the newcomer to naturalization as the way to earn the right to vote in order to become an influence on the political scene. According to David Roediger and James Barrett, "[d]ramatic use of cultural citizenship and political power, as well as upward economic mobility, helped to secure Irish acceptance as white Americans in the face of racial as well as religious nativism" (171). However, the political mobility of the Irish was seen as threatening by the native population, for they feared the Irish—with their large families—would take over American politics and make Catholicism the prominent faith (Diner, *Erin's* 62). Even though the Irish became politically influential, especially after the 1870s, the propaganda to gain political rights started long before that time. In this sense, O'Hanlon's constant advice to every Irishman "to secure as soon as possible the rights of citizenship,"<sup>14</sup> is a constant reminder of the irrepressible fear of social and political segregation within the same color spectrum.

Even though naturalization offers the rights of citizenship, the naturalized Irish-Americans were scrutinized as newly admitted subjects of the American nation. Therefore, docility is a must for the immigrant in order to avoid association with the rebellious and inassimilable immigrant stereotype. In order to do this, the immigrant should improve on the social scene and present an appearance of total orderliness. Most importantly, the Irish

immigrant “must shun disputes and bickerings and keep clear of law-suits.”<sup>15</sup> By avoiding disputes and obeying the laws of their adopted country, the Irish immigrant would gradually tear down the argumentative, troublemaker, riot-starter Irish image. In addition to the policy of “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” in maintaining a trouble-free life, the *Pilot* also believes that abolitionist ideas among the Irish immigrants would come across as ingratitude towards American society and an offence towards the American legal system. Therefore, obeying the laws of the country also meant resisting the adoption of anti-abolitionist sentiments, for if the native justice system named slavery as legal, then the Irish needed to accept those laws.

Labor and race are connected to each other in “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide,” but before moving on to the connection between these two subjects I will look at the theme of the West as mentioned in the guide. Prior to their immigration, many Irish immigrants occupied rural areas of Ireland and had agricultural occupations. O’Hanlon showed the West as a substitute for Ireland, where the immigrant could live in similar environments and work at similar jobs. However, he mentions job opportunities in the East, too, because of the hesitation of immigrants in taking a journey into the unknown. The cities offered a communal belonging to the Irish with large numbers of Irishmen living in the tenements and a close circle of church-going Catholics. Many Irish families were afraid to move too far beyond this Irish Catholic circle of friends and relatives into the unknown West for fear of losing their faith and support system. Aware of this situation, O’Hanlon lists the occupations and the probable job openings in cities and in rural areas. Though he observes that the Irish prefer urban places in comparison to other immigrant groups, he advises the immigrant not to settle in cities, since labor conditions in big cities take their toll on the immigrant’s body over time. Not only the hardships of the urban labor market, but also the wages play an essential part in this advice, because “[t]he farther they remove from the cities, the

higher will be their wages, and their service more in demand.”<sup>16</sup> Actually, the demand for the Irish in cities is in public works, to the deliberation of which O’Hanlon notes that they “turn with less satisfaction and national pride.”<sup>17</sup> According to him, the side effects of public works on the inclusion of the Irish into the American community, stereotypes of alcoholic Irish laborers, lower wages, undignified treatment of the public works laborers, and deliberate health hazards are other reasons for immigrants to extend their immigration journey to the West and to the farms.

O’Hanlon offers the journey to the West as a new and advantageous beginning for the immigrant. As he mentions at the beginning of his guide, he does not romanticize farm life in the West, either. He dwells on the difficulties the immigrant will encounter once he squats on lands newly ‘evacuated’ by Indians. However, after the settler immigrant overcomes these difficulties, money, respect and better prospects will be in his future. If the immigrant does not have the means to invest in land, becoming an agricultural laborer is another occupation that offers ready payment. Moreover, the guide states that laborers will be able to save money on agricultural land since he will not be spending his wages on the social distractions of the city. And saving money according to O’Hanlon is a must. In the meantime, the *Pilot* publishes numerous letters from their readers, whose correspondence focuses on the West, and the elevated conditions of the agricultural laborer compared to the laborers of big cities. Still, even if the immigrant chooses to emigrate to the West with the hopes of populating the frontier or trying his hand at the advantages of the agricultural work, he needs to be careful about his racial representation on the social milieu, and the labor market. In order to do this, the immigrant needs to avoid the racial stereotypes attached to the Irish, which divide into two. The first is the stereotype of the Irish race as argumentative, dirty, uncivilized, drunk, incredibly poor, and unlawful. O’Hanlon mentions these stereotypes of the Irish and says, “[n]either can we admit the fidelity of those

broad caricatures of Ireland and Irishmen, that pass current in the fictions of tale writers and travellers; it has never been our misfortune to witness the joint occupancy of the poorest cabin, by the owner, and his pig or cow, or to be offended by any other unseemly practice, but such as must result from the struggle of honest poverty.”<sup>18</sup> He suggests the immigrants improve socially and maintain a clean, healthy household. The immigrant also needs to avoid alcohol and taverns, and prevent disputes with other Irish and with Americans. The second stereotype regards the placement of the Irish on the color spectrum of the racial stereotype. When O’Hanlon mentions agricultural job opportunities, he proceeds to warn the Irish to avoid working as farmhands in Slave States, because “the negro slaves are numerous, whites cannot obtain--neither should they seek employment, on plantations, unless in some other capacity than as mere laborers.”<sup>19</sup> Accepting the deterministic attributions of race, he says that the codes of Southern culture “exclude the white man from employments that seem better suited to the constitutions of the negro race.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, situating the Irish among the white race, O’Hanlon warns the immigrant to claim the respect the whiteness offers. The employment topic is the first and the last time he talks about racial lines. Showing that the fine line between being a slave and an agricultural laborer in the South is a rather disadvantageous one, he suggests the immigrant instead go West and invest in land. He believes agricultural labor is respected more in free States—and also in Slave States depending on the rank of the laborer—when compared to some Eastern states, where wealthy farmers consider themselves superior to white farm hands. Therefore, equality among members of the same race is a prerequisite in the job market, and newcomers as well as settled Irish-Americans should be careful in how they position themselves in relation to the black man in the labor market. Here, the acceptance of whiteness as the proper race demonstrates how effective the racial superiority of whiteness was in the course of the immigrant’s identity acquisition.

## II. How to Remain Irish?

Even though adoption of American characteristics is encouraged on the pages of the *Pilot*, the newspaper is a staunch defender of the Catholic Church. The paper and “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” represent Protestantism as an evil that should be avoided, and Irish immigrants are constantly reminded that preservation of faith is necessary for success. Indeed, the *Pilot* lays more emphasis on the preservation of faith when compared with the preservation of the Irish identity. Religion remained a generational legacy, and many Irish immigrants sought the comfort of the familiarity of the Church on American soil. Nations and nationalities are founded on different aspects; in the example of the Irish, religion and national pride remain in close proximity, making Catholicism an essential part of the Irish identity (Hobsbawm 67). Hobsbawm makes this observation on the Irish population living in Ireland, but it is plausible to suggest that this tradition of identifying Catholicism with Irishness found its way into the US. Hence, it was crucial for the immigrant and his children not to lose or weaken that connection to the Church in order to remain Irish. Similar to this argument, O’Hanlon advises immigrants to live in close proximity to Catholic institutions such as schools and churches, creating a strictly Catholic sphere and restricting contact with Protestant American institutions, in order to prevent conversion attempts targeting Catholic children.<sup>21</sup> Historian Irene Whelan states that, “[t]he self-protective machinery of embattled Catholicism made Irish-Americans ... deeply conservative” (281). The conservative nature of their religious culture was the result of the fear of conversion; O’Hanlon warns his readers that some people may try to restrain them from practicing their faith.<sup>22</sup> He, however, also states that these conversion attempts do get less frequent probably “from the futile nature of the object sought to be accomplished.”<sup>23</sup> Yet, Irish Catholics were

supposed to keep their faith at all costs and under all trials, because Catholicism was represented in the print media as an inseparable part of being Irish.

Reverend J. O'Hanlon provides a meticulously designed guide to Irish immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century. The subjects he mentions in "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" present the US as a new world, dangerous and full of opportunities at the same time. He offers an approach to the ideal Irish-American citizen from multiple points of views. In the guide, the first step to becoming American is slowly adapting to the values and practices that mark the American character. This transition is a process, and the immigrant needs to gradually but determinedly gain new personal characteristics and apply them to different areas of labor, national belonging and social life. The second step is about readjusting the newly acquired American identity to the Irish identity. In order to manage the balance between the two, O'Hanlon advises immigrants to remain within the bounds of the Church and retain a limited but continued devotion to Ireland. A new Irish-American that would destroy the settled stereotypes of the Irish, a new citizen the native-born Americans would approve of, a successful, devoted, economically secure, healthy and upstanding citizen his acquaintances would look up to is the identity he wants to guide immigrants towards.

The need to advise and guide the immigrant became an especially important mission for the *Pilot* after the Great Famine, because of the large numbers of immigrants flowing into the US, escaping from the hunger and poverty they faced in Ireland. The *Pilot* acknowledged the low living standards of Irish immigrants who had difficulty in adjusting to their new circumstances, or who lost the values that made them Irish Catholics for the sake of succeeding in America. In order to change the fate of the arriving Irish immigrants, the *Pilot* used its printed material to direct the immigrant towards opportunities, and away from the misery of poverty and moral

corrosion. O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" is one of the non-fictional series published in the paper for this end. Yet, the paper also included fictional series to reinforce their guidance policy, and Mary Anne Sadlier's "Willy Burke" is one of the greatest examples in this vein. I will take a closer look at Sadlier's fictional work to gain an insight on its religiously motivated guidance and how it connects to the *Pilot's* guidance policy in general. Sadlier's novel is aimed at the youngest generation of Irish immigrants as its target audience, whereas O'Hanlon writes for the older members of the working-class. After giving a general analysis of "Willy Burke," I will move on to analyze the differences and similarities between it and "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" under the subsequent title in order to see how the diversity in target audience affects their respective guidance narratives. This will reveal what characteristics of immigrants these guides of conduct deem vital to adjust.

### **"Willy Burke" and the Glorification of the Successful Immigrant**

Orestes Brownson, a Catholic convert and writer, among other things, viewed print media as a means of expanding the Catholic faith, therefore, in January 1850, in his paper *Brownson's Review*, he calls for a tale written specifically on a poor Irish or Catholic boy, documenting his growth from childhood to manhood (J. E. Ryan 183). In the paper he says, "Let there be nothing strange, or marvellous; be simple and natural, keep within the sphere of every-day life, and show how such a boy may preserve, in a country like ours, his faith, his innocence, and gain a livelihood, respect, and a solid manly character."<sup>24</sup> Brownson aims to establish the hero of the tale as a role model for boys of the poor immigrant class, and choosing a protagonist with a simple common background offers many immigrant children the chance to identify with the hero of the tale.



According to Brownson, the tale has to be specific in its choice of the main character and the plot. The main character of the tale has to be an orphan boy, since Brownson complains that many of the existing tales are written on the virtues of the female heroine. This hero also has to have two aims: to maintain strong ties to the Catholic Church and remain virtuous despite the temptations of life in the city. The author's main aim, on the other hand, is to present the hero in a way that appeals to the many orphans of the poor immigrant class. The hero will appear to be one of them, and his lead as a role model will attract real-life orphans, who according to Brownson will "take him for their model, the pattern, and seek to imitate him."<sup>25</sup> His call for the creation of a religiously motivated protagonist from the poor class who has the prospect of obtaining a respectful position in the American community was the perfect opportunity for the *Pilot* to reflect on their ideal immigrant formation.

The Irish-American novel of the mid-nineteenth century focuses on telling stories of immigrants whose success depends on an American identity balanced with their ethnic, racial, religious and nationalistic identities. The awareness of Irish-Americans about the conversion schemes of Protestant Americans led Irish immigrant literature of the mid-nineteenth century to assume a didactic tone in order to assist the immigrant to become an American citizen while retaining his love for Ireland and loyalty to the Catholic Church. Following similar patterns of the trials and traumatic experiences of the immigrant in the New World, authors produced three main types of novels. According to Charles Fanning, these are "Catholic-tract fiction to exhort the immigrants to keep the faith on foreign soil, immigrant-guide-book fiction to instruct the newly arrived on how to get along in America, and nationalistic-political fiction to aid the cause of freedom from British rule back in Ireland" (*The Exiles of Erin* 97). Works based on religious addresses and nationalistic sentiments gained attention, as many Irish viewed novels that were

not didactic in tone as sinful and misleading. Fenianism gained importance in the late 1850s, following the foundation of the Fenian Brotherhood in New York with the purpose of helping Irish freedom “by providing American money and manpower to encourage insurrection” (Kenny “American-Irish” 290). During this period, novels on Irish freedom from British rule and Irish bravery throughout the history of Ireland are serialized in the *Pilot*. The narrative of these novels aims to inform and entertain the reader on a very different subject matter, because of the period’s altered historical conditions. By the late 1850s, Irish immigration rates to the United States had diminished, and Irish-Americans turned their attention to Irish freedom, since they no longer needed the guidance on settlement and adjustment they received after immigration. This new adjustment to the fictional and non-fictional materials of the *Pilot* was in fact an effort to continue the imagined community of Irish-Americans, as Anderson puts it. The changing needs of Irish-Americans, therefore, led the paper to connect them around “the agitation for Irish independence which contributed so much to the maintenance of Irish identity in America” (Moynihan 498). I will not dwell further on this nationalistic aspect of Irish-American fiction in the *Pilot* because of its substantially diverse aims in addressing Irish-Americans. My focus in this chapter is the *Pilot*’s guidance policy towards Irish immigrants; however, the fictional material on Irish nationalistic politics can provide generous amounts of information for future research. The didactic fiction, on the other hand, accords with the necessities of the Famine Generation, for the vast amount of advice and warnings it provides to new immigrants. The youth were the main recipient of this warning, since authors of the didactic tradition aimed at the youth as their target audience, fearing they were the most susceptible victims of temptations in the States. Sadlier was an important figure in this tradition and, with the support of editors

Donahoe and Orestes Brownson, she became the “fictional advisor to the Famine immigrants” (Fanning *The Irish Voice* 120).

Brownson’s call to create a role model for young immigrants of Irish Catholic descent also attracted the attention of the *Pilot*, and the newspaper started a contest looking for a tale that fitted Brownson’s description and offered 50 dollars as a prize for the winning tale. In June, the winner is announced on the pages of the *Pilot* as Mrs. Sadlier from Montreal, Canada. Even though Sadlier was not a Famine immigrant herself, her interest in the Famine generation’s trials in the New World led her to write works in the immigrant-guidance tradition and made her a prominent Catholic author in North America. The *Pilot* announces the next week that the reception of “Willy Burke”<sup>26</sup> has been good; by the end of the serialization of the book, the paper announces its publication in book form. On September 14, 1850, the paper gives the sale records of “Willy Burke,” mentioning that the book sold one thousand copies in two weeks.<sup>27</sup> During its publication, the *Pilot* acts as a medium that addresses and instructs each family member no matter the age, and it occasionally publishes short didactic stories specifically for children.<sup>28</sup> The serialization of “Willy Burke” strengthens their policy to address the young generation of Irish-Americans, with subjects that educate them in certain areas.

The *Pilot* suggests that Sadlier’s novel should be mentioned at Sunday Schools, and be made available to the young children of the poor class of immigrants. According to Charles Fanning’s opinion on the Famine generation authors, “[t]he identification of Irishness with both Catholicism and suffering helped them to make sense of their world and its central tragedy” (*The Irish Voice* 118). The strong affiliation of the Irish with Catholicism would also mark the concept of nationalism for them (Hobsbawm 68). Accordingly, Sadlier creates a setting where being Irish means being a Catholic on constant trial and in agony, and yet the character will be

rewarded generously if he keeps his Irish and Catholic identities intact during these hardships. The end product, comprised of twelve chapters, depicts scenes of temptation and trials for the immigrant families and especially their children. The tale follows the plot laid by Brownson. The Burke family leave their home in county Tipperary, Ireland, around the 1830s, to offer a better future for their six children. Andy Burke, who is a farmer and the head of the family, dies unexpectedly of an illness on the ship. Upon their arrival in the United States, the Burke family go through economic and religious trials. First, the two youngest children of the family die of illness. Their mother Biddy Burke starts to work as a washerwoman for wealthy families. One of these families, the Watkins, who belong to the Methodist Church, offer to send Willy to school, but upon understanding the schemes behind this, Biddy takes her son from the school. However, she cannot stop her eldest son Peter, who is said to have a wavering faith, from going to the Watkins home and attending the Protestant school. Unable to bear the pain of seeing her son's religious decay, Biddy dies, leaving her remaining four children orphans. Willy gets a job at a hardware store and his two sisters are left with a Catholic lady to learn the straw bonnet business. Peter continues to work for the Watkins, but his position never exceeds that of an office boy, even though he is promised a position as a clerk. After many religious trials, Willy manages to preserve his faith, and is rewarded generously. One of his employers, Mr. Weimar, a German, converts to Catholicism on his death-bed because of Willy's good example, and leaves the orphan boy \$5,000 in his will. Peter, upon realizing the virtues of the Catholic faith and finally understanding the conversion schemes of the Watkins', starts going to the Church again. In the end, Willy and Peter hold railroad shares, and continue to work at the hardware store. They are not railroad workers, as many of their countrymen are, but are more prosperous since Willy is an ideal immigrant. One of the sisters marries Willy's friend Dawson, who also converts to

Catholicism after his acquaintance with Willy; and the other sister marries a wealthy Southern planter. The faith and the pride in being Irish are rewarded and being docile and trustworthy is promoted throughout the work.

As seen, Sadlier does not associate the immigrant's arrival in the States with the idea of prosperity but rather with a constant trial of economic hardships, moral decay and death. Indeed, the foreshadowing element of death appears in the narrative when the narrator dwells on the subject of departure from Ireland:

In those days (some twenty years ago) emigration was not what it now is, and he or she who set out for a land beyond the sea was regretted almost as though the grave were about to shut him in forever. It is true that America was then regarded by our simple peasantry as a "land flowing with milk and honey"—or, to speak less metaphorically, as the land of gold and silver, where wealth rolled on in a ceaseless stream, and to be caught needed but to reach out the hand.<sup>29</sup>

Sadlier's depiction of the New World recalls the idealized and picturesque depiction O'Hanlon decries in his guide. Sadlier, similar to O'Hanlon, shows that the land of plenty was also associated with dangers and death, pointing to a renunciation at the other side of the Atlantic. A friend of the Burke family, Larry Gallagher, quotes his father saying that leaving their native country is an "unnatural thing," again foreshadowing the death that awaits the family aboard the ship. Sadlier depicts the detachment from Ireland in the form of losing Andy Burke to an illness on the ship. The family cannot manage to survive the dangers of the cross-Atlantic voyage, and the death of the father, the leading and protective figure expected to provide guidance to his family in the New World, is the harbinger of the calamities awaiting the Burke children. The sea image, on the other hand, acts as the symbol of an unknown darkness that both absorbs and

embraces Andy Burke. As the figure left in purgatory, Andy does not manage to reach his destination, dies on the ship 'Dublin,' and is left with no tombstone, no connections to any land, and therefore he is the depiction of a landless immigrant figure. Biddy's reaction to her husband's 'burial' out in the ocean reflects the 'unnatural' nature of an immigrant's detachment from his native land: "If ye were aburyin' in the ould church yard at home, where your forefathers lie,--but och! wirra, wirra! To see you a throwin' out into the deep ocean, instead o' bein' covered up in consecrated ground,--och, its unnatural, unnatural!"<sup>30</sup> Andy's physical disengagement from Ireland is eternal and unnatural, due to its irreversible consequences in terms of belonging. Moreover, the whole connected family image transforms into a broken and disconnected family image during the journey of immigration.

In the tale, America is referred as the 'strange country' on different occasions,<sup>31</sup> highlighting the unfamiliarity and the unexpected nature of things in the new country. In order to cope with the new ways of the strange New World, the immigrants are suggested to hold onto their old values. Dogherty, the school master, advises the Burke children to

never be ashamed of your country, as they say some grow to be--but always be proud of being born in poor old Ireland, because it was, ay, and it is, the Island of Saints,--and above all, children, ye'll be mindful of the old faith--the old religion that ye learned here at home; for ye may be sure that if ye forget it, or let yourselves be drawn away from it, ye have no chance for happiness in the world to come.<sup>32</sup>

Master Dogherty points out two issues in this advice; the first is retaining nationalistic pride in being Irish, and the second is preserving the Catholic faith. These are also important for the *Pilot's* agenda, since the paper relentlessly advises its readers in the same vein. Sadlier's

narrative is in harmony with the guidance policy of the *Pilot*, warning the immigrants of their bad prospects in the event they do not abide by their advice and fall prey to the temptations awaiting them in Protestant America. Peter, for instance, is an unsuccessful character, whose ‘moral decay,’ is demonstrated through the moments when he rejects the authority of the Church and feels ashamed by his faith in the presence of Protestants. This alienation from his faith puts Peter in degrading situations where the reader both pities him but at the same time acknowledges that the situation results from Peter’s own actions. The aim of situating Peter in difficult and demeaning circumstances is to imply to the young generation of readers what awaits them should they, too, depart from the strictures of the Church. Both “Willy Burke,” and “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” dwell on the subject of avoiding conversion; however, Sadlier targets child laborers, such as the Burke siblings, whereas O’Hanlon targets the parents of those children. O’Hanlon warns his readers about the dangers of the Protestant world, but he disregards the agency of children, and addresses parents as the authority in religious preservation by instructing them on how they can protect their children. Sadlier, on the other hand, directly addresses the young generation of child-laborers, most of whom have contact with Protestant Americans in the process of supplying their labor and, as a result, were under imminent danger of drifting away from the Church.

The women in Sadlier’s novels are typical nineteenth-century female characters confined to the domestic space. And if they have to work, as in the case of Biddy, the jobs they find require being part of another domestic space. After becoming a widow, Biddy becomes a washerwoman, pursuing a job that was obtained by many Irishwomen in the nineteenth-century, which further blurred the line between servitude and domestic service.<sup>33</sup> Even though some white immigrant women avoided domestic service, Irish women worked in households in large

numbers. According to Diner, “domestic service provided perhaps the most intimate glimpse of what middle-class America was really like,” and helped Irish women to acculturate to American values (*Erin’s* 94). Biddy’s introduction to the American household takes place through the Watkins family, who represent the threat of religious decay. The Watkins offer to send Willy to school, yet their schemes are revealed when Willy reads a paragraph from his schoolbook, which talks about the ignorance, superstitious beliefs, and the lazy nature of the Irish people all in relation to Catholicism. In a conversation between Biddy and Mr. Watkins, Biddy explains the reason why she wants to withdraw her son Willy from the school, saying “it’s not our religion they teach, an’ though the school may be a very good one for Protestants--no Catholic boy can stay in it, except his people wants to have him reared up a Protestant.”<sup>34</sup> The threat of Protestants leading Catholic children astray was a feared prospect of American life, and both Sadlier’s fiction and O’Hanlon’s “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” advised immigrants to beware of it. The novel, however, demonstrates a more detailed and complex illustration of the hardships mentioned in the guide, and offers insight into how immigrants might overcome or fall prey to those difficulties. O’Hanlon points to the difficulties awaiting the immigrant such as sharks, difficult work conditions, and racial profiling; however, he restrains from giving individual examples. What Sadlier manages in this sense is the animation of these difficulties by offering probable examples of hardships and trials from the daily lives of immigrants. This animation comparatively appeals to a larger crowd of immigrants from different ages and genders than the guide, because O’Hanlon’s narrative focuses on the male immigrant’s trials whereas Sadlier offers a glance into the life of the workingwoman, in the cases of Biddy as a washerwoman, and Alice, Bridget and Mrs. Williams as makers of straw-bonnets. O’Hanlon excludes Irish-American women from his readership by mainly referring to men’s problems or opportunities in



America, but Sadlier includes Irish women in her narrative, a move that expands her readership. This suggest that immigration in O'Hanlon's narrative is presented as a male sphere, whereas in real-life women also struggled with the hardships of immigration, just like men. However, this does not mean that Sadlier is a radical in her conception of the gender roles. On the contrary, her female characters belong to the domestic sphere, and the jobs available to them do not transcend the realm of domesticity.<sup>35</sup>

The temptation of an economically and socially better future does not cause Willy's faith to waver, but his elder brother Peter falls prey to the schemes of Mr. and Mrs. Watkins. His time in the Protestant school distances him from his Catholic household, and he starts staying with the Watkins and simultaneously working in Mr. Watkins' office. Conquered from all directions, he gradually stops going to the Church, and visiting his family. His mother Biddy sees religion as descending from father to son, and the detachment of one son from this transmission devastates her and leads to her death. Having at least one of the boys under their influence, the Watkins take pride in their effort to convert the Irish Catholic immigrant children to the Protestant values of America. The narrator mentions that the Watkins have a reputation regarding their relationship with Catholic children:

Now, it happened that worthy Mr. Watkins prided himself no little on his thorough appreciation of the benefits which the Reformation had conferred on the world, and a corresponding detestation of Popish fraud and superstition, and what not, and he had cheerfully consented that his wife should take charge of this Irish boy, with a view to his conversion from the errors of Popery.<sup>36</sup>

Later, Willy's employer Mr. Talbot, a Catholic himself, says that the Watkins "will do any and every thing within the compass of their power to turn him away from the true faith."<sup>37</sup> Peter's

hubris in expressing his strength in avoiding the conversion efforts of the Watkins is just another reminder that he will fail in his attempt to protect his faith. Contrary to Peter, Willy is submissive in his filial duties. There are constant references to his submissive nature in relation to the maternal authority of Biddy, which almost always parallels his unwavering submission to the Catholic faith and God. Peter's detachment from the Church is a triumphant moment for Mrs. Watkins as she views Peter as "[o]ne brand snatched from the burning!"<sup>38</sup> The next goal of Mrs. Watkins is to take in the Burke sisters, Ally and Biddy, which Willy opposes vehemently saying that he would rather see them work hard with Mrs. Williams, a Catholic woman who took in the girls to teach them the bonnet business, than to see them change like their brother Peter. Mrs. Williams says that she would not give the girls to the Watkins because "[i]t is nether to-day nor yesterday that I heard of their doings, with respect to Catholic orphans."<sup>39</sup> Her reaction to the Watkins is similar to Mr. Talbot's reaction, since the reputation of the Methodist Watkins is reflective of the religious attenuation spread by some American families in their effort to distance the immigrant children from the faith of their families. For that reason, "Willy Burke" emphasizes the importance of maintaining close familial ties in the preservation of the faith. I will mention the conservation of familial and filial bonds in the next chapter during my discussion about the "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." These bonds and the idea of staying within the community are significantly important for the guidance material published in the *Pilot*, as they direct the Irish immigrant towards belonging to a community and distancing them from the individuality of the American society. "Willy Burke," too, views individual immigrants as members of a larger Catholic community and highlights their individual efforts only if they work for the good of the majority in the end.

Sadlier also imposes the moral of the tale through the economic trials of the New World. In “Willy Burke,” employment is shown as a means of temptation and also a way to prove the work ethic of the Irish. Peter and Willy are confronted with economic prosperity in leaving their faith behind. Peter chooses the promise of a better future made by the Watkins, but Biddy’s advice is to preserve an unwavering faith, since according to her it is foolish “to give up our religion for sake of the poor perishable things o’ this wicked world.”<sup>40</sup> Actually Mr. Watkins fires her, declaring it “cruel to insist on her continuing to receive Protestant money” after Biddy’s words.<sup>41</sup> As a Protestant native-born American, he has the power to terminate Biddy’s job, demonstrating the pivotal strength of his class regarding the labor market and economics. This friction between Mr. Watkins and Biddy stems from the complications of devotion to their faiths. And the fact that Biddy opposes her employer is a reflection of the period’s criticisms of Irish servant girls, who “displayed her ‘Hibernian temper’” to their Protestant employers (Kibler 75). Sadlier demonstrates to the Irish the extent of the native-born Americans’ strength in economics and the social life and warns them not to give in to their material superiority, even if that means disregarding the authority of their employers. Later in the tale she shows a successful example of a Catholic who kept a solid religious base. Mr. Talbot reveals that he was an orphan himself, who had been taken care of, given a job, and thus became the successful person he is today. He is portrayed as a dutiful Catholic, and, as the owner of a wholesale and retail hardware store, he extends the helping hand that was offered to him years ago to other orphans. As an example of an economically secure and religiously firm person, Mr. Talbot is a model figure for the Burke brothers. Daniel J. Casey and Robert E. Rhodes say that Mary Anne Sadlier “advanced a stereotype that exhorted immigrants to disavow the past and emulate the Yankee work ethic”

(650). According to them, hard-working laborers were promised to be rewarded in both worlds, and Mr. Talbot and Willy are the two successful examples the author presents.

The tale is reflective of the period in its portrayal of the favored German boss Mr. Weimar. Among all other nationals, it is the German immigrant who helps the Irish immigrant to start off his working-life with an advantage. Even though Mr. Weimar tries to prevent Willy's church visits by offering him a raise in his salary, and later accuses him of burglary, at the end at his deathbed he becomes a paternal figure the reader sympathizes with. The lack of a father necessitates a paternal figure for the Burke children. After Andy's death, Mr. Talbot, Father Fitzherbert, and Mr. Weimar become paternal figures, and yet Peter's search for another father figure continues. Peter overhears Wilson and Hamilton, two Protestant characters, talking about how the Watkins would have adopted Peter if he were not a Catholic. The adoption story is not actually true, but Peter acknowledges Catholicism as an obstacle and he declares his independence from it immediately. However, even though Peter renounces his faith, the adoption never takes place. Furthermore, Peter overhears Mrs. Watkins talking of him as the fellow, who "is not worth much."<sup>42</sup> Heartbroken, he understands that his place is among his own people. This enlightenment is another key lesson of *Sadlier*, since staying among one's own close circle of friends and family is promoted in her tale. This way, the immigrant avoids the temptations of the American world with the protection of his religious devotion and loyalty to his native land.

It is obvious from "Willy Burke" that *Sadlier* puts more emphasis on the preservation of faith than the acquisition of American identity. Furthermore, she presents the idea of blending in with the native-born Americans as dangerous due to the possibility of religious erosion. In "Willy Burke," she is not very concerned about the acquisition of an American identity. The characters never identify themselves as Irish-American but talk of themselves as Irish. Even

though the *Pilot*'s agenda circles around creating an Irish-American identity while preserving the faith, Sadlier's Willy Burke becomes successful without offering his loyalty to his adopted country. Willy manages to keep his Irish and Catholic identities intact, yet he does not become an American. This isolation from American values is seen as a virtue in Sadlier's work, for it mentions that the immigrant did not lose the values of his homeland. O'Hanlon, on the other hand, advises the immigrant not to isolate himself from American values, and to acquire them as long as those values do not overlap with the doctrines of the Church. Nevertheless, Sadlier's works in general tend to ethnocentrism, and "fatalistic acceptance of suffering, opposition to American intellectuality, democracy, progress, and ambition to succeed; advocacy of the old order of traditional customs, the patriarchal family, and a hierarchal society" further supports the value given to Irish and Catholic values in her works (Fanning *Irish Voice* 140). This does not correspond with the characteristics of the *Pilot*'s ideal immigrant, and yet many immigrants connected around pride in their native nation. Therefore, even though not ideal for the *Pilot*'s agenda, "Willy Burke" presents a pathway for the immigrant to succeed by the connection between Catholicism and Ireland.

In this regard, one of the most important topics of the fictional and nonfictional series in the *Pilot* is the preservation of faith. O'Hanlon mentions that some people try to restrain the Irish from their faith or lead them to attend other churches, which is, in fact, the way the Watkins hoped to convert Peter and Willy from Catholicism. Peter falls prey to their schemes; however, Willy manages to stand his ground, and Sadlier attributes this to his visit to the local Church for 6 a.m. Mass every morning. Peter stops going to the Church and moreover his attendance to a school, which is a distinctively Protestant sphere, further damages his faith. Even Biddy is aware of the agenda of these schools, which have "a purpose for leadin' Poor Catholic children astray-

-where they used to make them read the Protestant bible, and lyin' books about our holy religion, that they call popery" (sic). And the reputation of the Watkins regarding Catholic orphans supports this claim even further, demonstrating to the Irish Catholic youth the dangers of the world beyond their own religious realm.

Sadlier glorifies the successful immigrant; and for her, Willy is the depiction of an achiever. Her fictional work focuses more on the moral values an immigrant should have in the New World rather than the practical information they may need as they settle down to their new environment. Her characters do not need to have pragmatic knowledge as long as they work honestly and remain true to their faith, their native land and to their Irish community. She excludes the subject of assimilation, naturalization and racialized labor—which have a prominent place in ‘The Irish Emigrant’s Guide’—in her references to immigrant guidance. Sadlier portrays Mr. Talbot as a successful Catholic, but she does not specifically mention that he is naturalized. Naturalization, therefore, is not a key factor to gain success in “Willy Burke,” contrary to what O’Hanlon suggests in the guide. In Sadlier’s work, assimilation is a vague subject; the characters adapt but they do not assimilate. In O’Hanlon’s guide, however, assimilation is crucial to blend in with the rest of the society. As an alternative to national assimilation, adaptation becomes a prominent trait of Sadlier’s immigrant characters; but assimilation—specifically in terms of religion—is incomprehensible and intolerable. Moreover, O’Hanlon suggests his readers abstain from racialized labor, and yet, Biddy works as a washerwoman and is not racialized. She, however, is othered on the grounds of her faith, which eventually leads her to leave her job at the Watkins household. Sadlier’s work addresses the urban experiences of Irish immigrants, whereas O’Hanlon offers a new perspective to escape these dire urban experiences with his guidance of the immigrants into the West.

### **Between Assimilation and Property: Becoming White, Owning Whiteness**

The *Pilot* categorizes Irish-Americans as white, and the discussion to prove their whiteness becomes a prominent feature of the paper by the mid-nineteenth century. The appearance of news articles and editorials aiming to racialize the Irish as white corresponds with the Irish Famine immigration. To put it differently, the *Pilot* anticipated that the poverty of the newly arrived Irish immigrants would drag the Irish-Americans down on the social spectrum. Therefore, the Irish in the paper's discourse became white, and the paper encouraged them to demand rights as a white group in order to elevate the status of the newcomers, which indirectly enhanced the position of settled Irish-Americans.

In "The Irish Emigrant's Guide," naturalization is not only a way of becoming successful on American soil, but also a way to dismiss the fear of white slavery. However, O'Hanlon's suggestion to avoid racialized labor is the only instance where he explicitly identifies the Irish as white. His narrative is devoid of any direct references to whiteness except for the subject of labor, but he indirectly mentions it as he guides immigrants to naturalization, a right assigned particularly to white men. In "Willy Burke," whiteness is missing from the narrative, and the only reference to the white race is implicit, with Willy's sister Bridget Burke's marriage to "a wealthy planter from the South."<sup>43</sup> Sadlier, although she does not mention whiteness, implies that Bridget becomes the mistress of a plantation, which gives her authority over the slaves. Other than this instance, membership of the white race is not mentioned either implicitly or explicitly in "Willy Burke."

During the publication of "The Irish Emigrant's Guide," anti-abolitionism is on the rise in the pages of the *Pilot*, and African-Americans are not the only undesired community in the eyes

of this Irish-American newspaper. The newspaper considers immigrants of other nationalities and ethnic backgrounds—except for the Germans, whom they view as hard working, calm, and successful—as rivals racing for the same American identity. Indeed, according to the *Pilot*, helping the Irish immigrant to become an American is the ultimate goal in this race. News articles published during 1851 cover subjects that indicate to the immigrant the dangers of staying outsiders, which meant staying outside the circle of Americanness and the financial stability and social respect it brings to the immigrant. The *Pilot* writes follow-up articles on the news articles it publishes, and by doing so it creates a continual mood of fear for the immigrant, urging them to become legal Americans. This need to become naturalized coincides with the fear of white slavery, and the newspaper's desire to protect the Irish within the Irish-American.

Several news articles published in the spring of 1851 illustrate how the paper draws implicit links between racial and national identity. The *Pilot* draws parallels between the situations of Mrs. Sullivan, an Irish pauper; Sims, a run-away slave; and Kossuth, the Hungarian political leader. These stories are printed in unison on April 12, 1851 and are followed up during the next few months through comparisons between the three drawn by the *Pilot*. I specifically chose these three news articles to include in this chapter, first because of their chronological consistence with “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide,” and second because they address three aspects of the *Pilot* in relation to race and ethnicities. These three news stories involve three stereotypes: Mrs. Sullivan is treated as an honest Irish pauper (in need of help and devoid of material support and political rights), Sims is treated as a dangerous run-away slave (claimed to be a run-away black man, but the facts mingle with fiction as the story continues), and Kossuth is treated as an anarchist foreigner (who is seen as a member of an untrustworthy population). The fictitious



nature of these news articles emerges from these stereotypical characters and stories and the uncertainty about where fact combines with fiction in the printed version.

The news of Mrs. Sullivan, who was about to be deported from the States, becomes a recurring theme in the newspaper over the following three months. The story is originally published in the *Traveller*, and is quoted in the *Pilot* on April 12, 1851, with a comment that questions the authorities' right to send this woman back to Great Britain, taking into consideration the sixteen years she had spent in the United States. This news article becomes a vehicle for national inclusion demagoguery with the news of the Hungarian leader Kossuth's arrival in the United States. Lajos Kossuth took part in the Hungarian Revolution, and after being defeated, the US offered him asylum. The *Pilot* resents the role US plays in the release and protection of Kossuth, saying in the article "Kossuth and The Irish Exiles: The Duty of the American Government" that "If Kossuth and the Hungarians have claims upon the sympathies and friendly interference of the United States, surely the Irish people, and their banished leaders, have claims ... ."<sup>44</sup> The *Pilot* uses an agitated tone as they describe the interest of the United States officials in negotiating for the release of Kossuth and bringing him to the US in the interest of contributing to the freedom of European countries. The reason behind this agitation is the disinclination of the US in helping the Irish exiles such as John Mitchel and Thomas Meagher. The *Pilot* comments on the situation saying that,

The Irish race, on the contrary, is, by far the largest element, exceeding that of all other races put together, as is shown by the annual reports of the Commissioners of Emigration, and by the broad facts of American history. It is the Irish race that have built the railroads and canals of the United States,--works which have so materially contributed to develop the resources of the country. It is the Irish race

who have reclaimed the forest and the prairie, and made the solitary plane to rejoice, and the desert to blossom like the rose. It is the Irish race, above all others, who have extended the limits of civilisation westwards, and raised the corn, and rye, and wheat, and hogs, and other produce, that constitute so large a portion of the wealth of the United States. Labor is the wealth of nations, and without population labor cannot be performed. Without the Irish race, how far back would North America be at the present time, instead of where it is in the van of civilisation and freedom, and the most powerful of nations? It is the healthy, vigorous blood of Ireland that constantly recruits the decaying native population, and preserves it from utter extinction.<sup>45</sup>

The emphasis on the contributions of the Irish to their adopted country shows how the paper views its countrymen: essential and vigorous. As the *Pilot* makes the comparison between the treatment of the Hungarian patriot and Irish patriots by the US, it makes continuous references to the military and financial aspects of the Irish support for wars and the development of the country's economics. These contributions are vital to a country's growth and preservation of its political strength on the world scene, and the *Pilot* believes that the US government needs to acknowledge the value of Irish-Americans to the country. Stressing the loyalty of the Irish to the American soil, the *Pilot* resents the inclination of the States to free the Hungarian leader Kossuth, while the Irish have toiled without success to win favor in the eyes of the native-born Americans. Seeing themselves as the balancing force between the abolitionist 'fanatics' of the North and the power institutions of the South, the paper feels bitter about how the government underappreciates their efforts as a people. The tone of resentment does not change from 1850 up

until the end of the Civil War as the *Pilot* continues to comment on the underrated status of the Catholics and Irishmen.

In the same week the story of Alfred Sims, who is claimed both to be a run-away slave from Savannah and a free black man kidnapped into slavery, appears on the pages of the Irish-American newspaper. The case of Alfred Sims is in fact the renowned case of the fugitive slave Thomas Sims, who escaped from Savannah in an attempt to escape slavery and arrived in Boston in March 1851 (Brown 99). Unlike Mrs. Sullivan, whose displacement by American authorities resulted in a great uproar by the paper's editor, the abduction/claiming of Sims is presented as the administration of justice. In the following week, the *Pilot* even mentions in the article "The Slave Case," that Sims and his family will rejoice at the reunion, as he will be removed "from his confinement to his favorite home in Georgia, where he will soon have the pleasure of enjoying the society of his wife and children, and that of his old master Mr. Potter."<sup>46</sup> And the comparison between Sims and Sullivan is highlighted in "That Woman Not Gone" even further when the newspaper says that Mrs. Sullivan was not deported, but was sent to New York. At this point the paper compares the situation of Mrs. Sullivan to that of the fugitive slave and says that she refuses to "return to Boston to be set off *a la* fugitive Sims."<sup>47</sup> That week, the follow-up news on Kossuth and support for the Hungarian freedom is observed with scorn, stating that Hungarians are not as oppressed and their situation not as critical as that of Irish exiles. The paper also mentions that the Irish are one of the largest populations on US soil, and thus the government will appear as "unworthy," and "ungrateful" unless they take action in helping the cause of Irish freedom.<sup>48</sup>

The *Pilot*, in this case, has three cases to present and follow. The first one, that of Mrs. Sullivan, presents the ever-righteous, underrated and unappreciated situation of the Irish in

general. The second case, Alfred Sims, presents the black man as an unlawful run-away slave, disrespecting the idea of free blacks in general. The third case, Kossuth, presents the people of other nationalities and ethnicities as potentially dangerous groups that may divide the United States. The news published in this period also reinforces these cases, where each case works toward an end, namely being undervalued, racial superiority, and belonging on the national level. After mentioning these as lessons, the paper emphasizes that if the Irish do not naturalize they may be deported, turned into white slaves or lose their hard-gained trust within American society to ‘outsiders.’ Moreover, a news article deepens these fears by mentioning how a Catholic - yet not Irish - boy was bought by a parson under the pretense of offering help and improving the boy’s condition. The purchase of the white boy from his father Benadito Fontanarosa for a dollar is the threatening kind of event that the paper has been craving to tell to its readers. Even though the paper previously presented an anti-abolitionist perspective, the stance of the paper turns into a humane call for help when the subject of slavery falls close to home. The *Pilot* gives it under the subtitle “*A human being bought in Boston--The Southern Slave Trade put into the shade,*” and explains the situation by saying that “[a] transaction has just occurred--*a trade made*, by which a human being, and living on our soil, has *been bought with money and transferred from one party to another*” [emphasis in the original].<sup>49</sup> In order to further dramatize the outcome, the paper compares the boy’s purchase to the situation of Sims, saying that “[i]n the event of the boy running away, Mr. Colver would stand in the same relation to his *property* that Potter did to the Fugitive Slave Sims” [emphasis in the original].<sup>50</sup> The question of owning the property and being turned into a property through commodification reinforces the connection the paper makes between whiteness and blackness, freedom and slavery. Moreover, the fear of white slavery also

points to the *Pilot*'s color awareness and their attribution of racial roles to immigrants and to members of ethnic groups.

The didactic lesson the *Pilot* adheres to these cases is to demonstrate to the Irish immigrants the vital need for naturalization. John Tighe's serialized column "Lessons on Naturalization," which is published between April 19, 1851, and May 24, 1851, brings a legal point-of-view to this issue, stating that where there is a large naturalized Irish group, politicians will care about the interests of the Irish, and the Catholic clergy will gain more respect in society, and no "Irishwoman [would be] sentenced to be sent out of this commonwealth to Ireland, as a foreign pauper, ...."<sup>51</sup> In this way, Tighe blends the story of Mrs. Sullivan's deportation into a legal subject that is of use to both the immigrant and the Irish-American community on micro and macro levels.

In the following weeks, the paper calls for adopted citizens of Irish origin to use their vote as a weapon against the current American government that is not taking any steps to save Irish exiles. This shows that one of the most essential necessities for the immigrant is the right to vote, and thus the need to naturalize. As O'Hanlon mentions, naturalization is the key for elevation within society, and if the numbers of naturalized Irish increase, then they, too, will be holders of respect and power. The paper gradually demonstrates to the Irish community that the American government gives importance to every ethnic group except the Irish and reminds them that they are in danger of losing their chance for political progression and social integrity if they take naturalization for granted. The paper publishes news on unjust behavior towards Catholics and Irishmen in the hope of influencing them to get naturalized and become adopted citizens of the States.

Presenting the Irish as less important than black people is another means of guiding the immigrant towards naturalization. The echo of the cases of Mrs. Sullivan and the fugitive Sims is still apparent on the *Pilot's* pages, as the paper continues to publish news comparing the Irish to blacks and further mentioning the importance the native-born Americans attach to the blacks. For instance, when encountered with an injustice towards the Irish—as in the case of an Irishman injured by the dog of an American—a reader's letter declares his views on the subject: "The plain meaning of the above, and of hundreds of cases similar to it is this,—one of the parties was an Irishman and a Catholic, the other a Protestant and an American, and it surely needed no Daniel to prophecy what the decision of Judge and Jury would be. But had the Irishman been one of our colored brethren, O, la! What a time we would have!"<sup>52</sup> This comparison is important in three senses. First, it shows that long before the Civil War, the anti-abolitionist sentiments of the Irish were apparent. Second, it points to the creation of a white identity for the Irish through continuous comparisons between the white and black races. Third, it is important since its language is an example of how Irish immigrants and Irish-Americans acquired an anti-black perspective through print culture. In another follow up news article on Mrs. Sullivan, the paper says "What a pity it is, that Mrs. Sullivan is not a black woman. If she had painted her face black, gone to the office of the *Commonwealth*, and told that story, freesoildom would have lost the little sense it has left."<sup>53</sup> The language here alludes to the Irish as less valuable and outside the pale of official government protection, even when their skin color—which, in this sentence, is set against blackness in comparison—is considered.

In the same article, the *Pilot* offers guidance to those who want to get naturalized and says "[d]eclare your intentions the very next day after you read this article .... If you wish for advice, or assistance, write to us."<sup>54</sup> The desired effect of this news article is to urge Irish

immigrants to become naturalized in large numbers; however, the newspaper does not feel satisfied with the outcome. Thus, the paper publishes a news article titled “The Killing of Desmond,” and comments on the case of the murder of an Irishman, whom the paper presents as the common Irishman seen from the eyes of native-born Americans. The victim, Desmond, is a Catholic Irishman, who is killed by a ship mate called Oakes. Oakes, in his defense, mentions that Desmond was “drunk and disrespectful,” leading Oakes to escape punishment, to the *Pilot*’s dismay.<sup>55</sup> With the outrage of this injustice, the paper comments on the case with a sarcastic tone, stating that maybe there should be “a reward to be offered for the slaying of a wild Irishman ...”<sup>56</sup> In this way, the stereotype of the drunk, unlawful, animalistic Irishman is represented on the page, in order to demonstrate to the reader how they are being perceived, and how these stereotypes get them killed or deported without redress. Just a week later, in the article “The Abduction of Mrs. Sullivan,” the *Pilot* announces that its aim to guide immigrants to citizenship has been successful as an Irishman in Southbridge led other Irishmen to become naturalized after reading their article. The result is what the paper calls “a good fortnight’s work.”<sup>57</sup> This shows the importance the *Pilot* attributes to the naturalization of Irishmen and it also identifies the situation as a success story for the paper’s guidance policy.

Even though this example may suggest that many Irishmen who read the paper value and accept their newspaper’s ideas, it is also fair to say that some readers disagree with the *Pilot*’s way of reporting events, especially regarding black people. The Sims case, which ends with Sims being restored to his old master in a ‘happy reunion’ and the fugitive’s denouncing of the abolitionists, becomes the outlet of unjust inconsistencies for John Lambert, a reader from Factory Point, Vermont. His letter is addressed to the editor Patrick Donahoe, and Donahoe publishes it under the editorial “Free-Soilism,” after which he makes a lengthy explanation on

where the *Pilot* stands as a guiding agent for the Irish on the subject of slavery. Lambert's letter is given in full length:

Mr. Editor:--As a supporter, and constant reader of your valuable paper, I take the liberty of thus addressing you on what I conceive to be a great wrong and inconsistency which you are practicing, and which is exerting a prejudicial influence against the cause you advocate, viz: your defending and supporting the institution of Slavery, and opposing and ridiculing in an unjust and uncalled for manner, every effort put forth for the protection and amelioration of that poor down-trodden, and abused race, the enslaved Africans. In the 16th and 17th Nos., of the present volume of your paper, on the subject of poor Sims, who was claimed, seized, and sent back to slavery, in which case you seem to exult in a manner unbecoming one who is publicly pleading the cause of the oppressed and abused Irish people, and the persecuted Catholics. How widely different is your course, from that of the great patriot, philanthropist, and statesman, and christian-- Daniel O'Connell. The sufferings of the slave had his warmest sympathies, and nobly did he labor for a redress of their wrongs. To whom is justly accredited the abolition of slavery in England? The true hearted Catholics, they alone. What would be your feeling and sentiments should O'Brien, or any other of the Irish Patriots, who are now dragging out a miserable existence in bondage (for no more of an offence than the slave Sims was charged with) escape from their bondage and seek a home and place in Massachusetts, and the minions of England should demand them to be reconducted back to bondage, worse than death? Think you that your columns would be filled with exultations at the event as they were in the



seizure and disembarkation of Sims? As a native of Ireland, as a Catholic christian, as one whose heart bleeds for the suffering children of my oppressed country, I can not but feel for the whole human race who are suffering in bondage and oppression. And with what sympathy can the world look upon the conduct of that man, who, in one column of his paper is pleading the cause of one, and exulting and mocking the sufferings of another equally entitled to his protection, would he not be regarded as selfish and utterly void of all true philanthropy, unworthy of all confidence as unpatriotic and unchristian. (sic)<sup>58</sup>

Although Lambert declares the *Pilot* an anti-abolitionist paper with a hypocritical view towards the issue of freedom, the paper's wavering attitude towards the subject is put on the page once more by Donahoe's editorial on the letter. However, this attitude is important since it reflects the ideas shared by many Catholic Irishmen of the day. It is also essential to acknowledge these explanations as an endorsement of how an Irish view on whiteness and an anti-black policy is created. Within this context, Donahoe's comments on the situation demonstrate that the freedom of blacks in the United States is not a responsibility that the Irish should claim. According to him, it is a problem of no importance to the immigrant; in fact it is a danger, because of the financial and social consequences it may have. Moreover, he adds that if the native-born Americans do not view the institution of slavery as a problem to be rid of, the Irish—who should be grateful for the chance to be adopted citizens of this country—should not take a stand on the law and thus dissatisfy the native-born Americans. The aspect of compliance with the laws and institutions of their adopted country is also one of the subjects of “The Irish Emigrant's Guide” that same week. For Donahoe and O'Hanlon, naturalization and acceptance into society is an ongoing process of examination, observation and surveillance by the receiving country. Thus, the

immigrant, especially the Irish immigrant who is the least favored among all other groups according to the paper, should be careful to avoid disillusionment in the eyes of the native-born Americans and the government.

Still, Donahoe's explanation on Catholic Irishmen and slavery highlights two of his ideas: first, the *Pilot* is not an anti-abolitionist paper. And second, the reason they sound like an anti-abolitionist paper is because "[we] have simply insisted upon our duty to be loyal citizens of the nation."<sup>59</sup> Therefore, the idea of loyalty to the adopted nation is reinforced by not challenging the ideals of the adopted country and accepting them in order to be accepted in return as a functioning member of the society. The sincerity of this claim is open to dispute, for the same paper guides Irish Catholic immigrants to embrace their faith, and not yield to the Protestant ways of the States. This is problematic since the paper both guides the immigrant to stay loyal to some values of the States and to challenge others. The reason for this is that Donahoe, and therefore the *Pilot*, does view the Irish nation more in connection with the Catholic Church than the Irish nationality. They resist abolitionism not only in terms of staying loyal and dutiful citizens, but also for fear of opposing the doctrine of the Church. Donahoe further highlights the resentment Irish Catholics feel towards abolitionists, whom he views as willing to free the black but to enslave the white:

Moreover, these free-soilers do not give Catholics much encouragement to join them. They are generally the worst enemies we have. The ministers, the presses, the party generally, are anxious to emancipate the negroes and quite willing to oppress Irish Catholics. They would be quite willing to agitate against naturalization, against the building of churches, against the spread of Catholicity

in America. ... Here, in Massachusetts, they are ready to *buy* white Catholic boys, and to transport Irish women beyond seas [emphasis in the original].<sup>60</sup>

The constant references to the fugitive slave Sims, to Mrs. Sullivan's deportation and to the purchase of the white boy continue in this editorial, too. Nevertheless, the frame the *Pilot* wants to create for these news articles is simple: if you free the blacks, the whites will neither be safe nor flourish. Other reasons Donahoe lists also point to the 'evils' of abolitionism. First of all, slavery and thus abolitionism does not concern the Irish in the north, it is merely a Southern affair. Second, abolitionists, or free-soilers as he usually calls them, "have taken a *treasonable* stand" [emphasis in the original].<sup>61</sup> Third, this dispute constitutes the danger of a civil war. Fourth, there will be a slave rebellion and they will murder the whites. Fifth, England is to blame for the unrest between the North and the South. The last two bullet points on the list dwell on the same subject: the situation of the blacks and how abolitionist ideas harm them as a group rather than offering freedom and comfort. Furthermore, Donahoe blames free-soilers for the lost "privileges" of the blacks, whose current "condition is by no means so happy as it was before bedlam broke loose in the shape of abolitionism."<sup>62</sup> Donahoe and, therefore, the paper demonstrate inconsistency as Donahoe asserts the non- "anti-abolitionist" stance of the paper with abolitionist rhetoric. However, these inconsistencies are characteristic of the *Pilot*.

Moreover, even though Donahoe claims that the *Pilot* only opposes abolitionism on the grounds of not challenging the Church and the States, the deterministic language manifests itself through these sentences: "There is not a more wretched class, in any country, than the mass of free blacks in our cities. Some fate seems to prevent them from attaining anything like a decent position."<sup>63</sup> Donahoe attributes the disadvantaged condition of free blacks to "fate" rather than the discrimination apparent in the society. Contrary to what he argues throughout the editorial,

Donahoe's language shows that he has embraced the servile deterministic language of his adopted country. For all his editorial and proprietorial influence on the *Pilot*, the Irish community in Boston, in the US, and in Ireland cannot be disregarded, for language mediates between people and their ideas, and becomes the ultimate vehicle for transferring ideas across vast spaces to form a unity in ideals.

The *Pilot*'s role was significant in the adjustment process, as it provided the immigrant with the necessary information on American hegemony and power structures through its columns and created an imagined community by connecting the Irish community with the help of its printed material. It worked as an institution to maintain specific outcomes such as promoting certain ideas or beliefs and, in this sense; it had the power to ~~sculpt~~ mould readers to the political and cultural needs of the period. The news articles and the editorials highlighted the whiteness of the Irish, and as a constant reminder the paper married the term white with Irish almost as though inscribing racial identification with whiteness onto their subconscious. The repetition of whiteness as an Irish trait is powerful in the sense that it leads to an acceptance on the side of the receiver, who over time welcomes the repeated idea as a fact. Therefore, as Valerie Babb notes, print medium also offers a platform for people to connect around their whiteness, since "a common identity formed as selected traits fueled the imagining of a racial community" (87). As a result, the *Pilot* created a 'comradeship' not only around Irish-Americanness, but also whiteness.

The specifics of whiteness, its definition, social status, economic advantages, its members and their qualifications have not been necessarily fixed. The ever-changing question of eligibility and worthiness for selection into the white race has been the subject of many books. This selection into the white race, or rather being vacuumed into this group, signifies that the individual, as a member of a larger racial group, was also passive in the process. Racial

identification requires the active participation of the individual in race-related activities and race-based identity remarks. On the other hand, it also requires the same individual, this time as a micro section of the larger group that he is represented by, to remain passive, because the act of being selected into a racial category is also an ironically passive performance due to the nature of the word 'selection.' The micro needs to embrace the tactics of the macro in this process, and wait for inclusion or rather the endorsement of the receiving culture. In the case of Irish immigrants, the settled Irish-Americans formed the macro group and strived for inclusion of their micro parts into the white race, which also would reinforce the identification of the macro group with a more settled white identity. Acquiring white identity was the ultimate goal for the Irish immigrant, whose immigration numbers were over one million during the mid-nineteenth century, and who worked hard on different platforms such as politics and print medium to attain whiteness.

The apperception of whiteness among Irish immigrants was a result of its association with power and capital. The capitalistic environment of the US meant survival of the richest, and the adapting immigrants strived to grasp that economic freedom; by means of print media they learned that naturalization and assimilation into the white American race were essential for that goal. Matthew Jacobson states that even though at first Catholic identity raised doubts in the minds of the legislators in terms of granting citizenship, the Irish were let into the white race that resulted in "an aggressive embrace of that whiteness" in the labor market due to capitalism (*Whiteness* 22, 51). The implications attributed to the word itself are powerful, yet the meaning of whiteness and its definition as a racial category are continually redefined. For Babb it is "a culturally manufactured one, developed unevenly over a period of time, influenced by and responding to a variety of historical events and social conditions: among them, the need to create

national identity, and the need to minimize class warfare” (16). Whiteness as a racial category is a continuous process according to Ruth Frankenberg who notes, “it is a complexly constructed product of local, regional, national, and global relations, past and present,” which is demarcated by the racism specific to that period of time (236). Within the nationalistic context, necessities of the time, namely the acquisition of citizenship, directed Irish immigrants to secure whiteness as a settled part of their identity, which as an act “established material conditions of belonging and exclusion that code as race” (Haney-López 120-121). This coding of the race, or its invention according to T. Allen “is rather a political act” (1: 22). However, race reaches beyond politics and becomes “at once biological and cultural, inherited and acquired” (Roediger *Working* 35). It is ironic that Irish self-identification with whiteness did not necessarily guarantee the approval of the white Anglo-American group in the mid-nineteenth century. No matter how much they advertised their whiteness or announced their recently acquired white identity in print medium, the passiveness of being accepted into a group was discernible on the rejection of their self-claimed whiteness by the receiving culture. As Roediger says, even though the Irish were “loudly white,” they were not commonly acknowledged per se (*Working* 123). This rejection further led to their transformation into oppressors within the racial hegemony, forgetting the downtrodden Irish Catholic in Ireland. News articles expressing the *Pilot*’s exultation in the restoration of the fugitive Sims to his owner are exemplary in this regard since they demonstrate how the paper identifies with the oppressing white race. As the nativists of antebellum America tended “to consign the Irish, if not to the black race, then to an intermediate race located socially between black and white,” the resistance of the Irish to being categorized as such further engendered hostility along racial lines (Ignatiev 89). Therefore, whiteness is ability, demonstrating that this politically and economically authoritative group has the power to create and form such lines for

the advantage of their group and to secure their group's self-interest. This omnipotent ability to organize a system of racial categories is rather an exclusionist act because the rules of inclusion to whiteness as a racial order require admission based on the elimination of the inadmissible. As a result, racial and national assimilation was pivotal for the Irish in order to become a part of this exclusive white group.

Assimilation, however, was an intricate subject because it required belonging to only one national group, as a way to prove loyalty to one flag and its people. Nativists of the mid-nineteenth century did not tolerate the continued kinship of immigrants to their native societies. As Bronwen Walter suggests, assimilation demands the cessation of all previous attachments since they are deemed menaces to the solidarity around nationalistic identification with the receiving culture; those viewed as "unassimilated or unassimilable are told to 'go home', clearly signifying that only one home is assigned to them, that outside the nation" (195). In the *Pilot's* narrative, assimilation is the crucial path to citizenship. Nevertheless, contrary to the thought of disconnection from previous attachments, the idea in the Irish case is not of becoming a *tabula rasa*, devoid of any attachments and nationalistic belonging to Ireland. Assimilation is a prominent but delicate subject in O'Hanlon's "The Emigrant's Guide," which parallels the paper's general assimilationist idea. O'Hanlon insists that assimilation is easier for the Irish, who "seems to have been destined by nature for a participation in the active and business pursuits of the country, and in the benefits and advantages derived from its laws and institutions."<sup>64</sup> This sentence emphasizes determinism regarding the acquisition of the American Dream for the Irish, and thus claims success and social, political, and economic inclusion as a right of the members of the Irish community. The assimilation, however, is not the adoption of a new identity at the expense of the old one, but rather an adaptation, which leads the immigrant to still love and

respect his native country. However, according to O'Hanlon, this love should be limited, since a good citizen is obliged to "give an undivided and willing allegiance to that country, whose protection and advantages have been afforded him."<sup>65</sup> The image of a grateful Irish citizen is also apparent in his lines, since O'Hanlon, like Donahoe, acknowledges the ever-present surveillance of the immigrant, and the immigrant's need to form an ideal citizen identity, which is viewed as necessary for inclusion at national level.

The subject of national assimilation is not prominent or perceptible to the reader in Sadlier's "Willy Burke." The reader, however, finds traces of it between the lines through close reading. Since Sadlier gives more importance to the preservation of faith, the nationalistic subject is not prominent in the tale. Her Irish Catholic characters are docile immigrants; they avoid trouble and do not question authorities, unless the subject is their faith. In "Willy Burke," the Americanization of the children is observed through their accents, which change dramatically over the years. Before their departure from Ireland, and upon their arrival in America, the children's heavy accent is reflected on the page, and yet after they receive education and spend some years in America, it becomes impossible to differentiate their speech from that of the native-born Americans in the story, namely the Watkins. In time, Willy refers to himself as William, and his sisters who were previously called as Ally and Biddy become Alice and Bridget. The reader can trace the linguistic improvement, yet the attachment to the American nation is not traceable. Only once in the story are the siblings pictured in celebration on the fourth of July, which is observed to be "the day of all days for the citizens of New York."<sup>66</sup> However, they are not shown engaging in any nationalistic activities on that day. To put it briefly, the characters in "Willy Burke" are not assimilated in terms of national identity, because preservation of Catholic faith and respect for Ireland are more essential for the immigrant's well-



being in Sadlier's work. There are two reasons behind this: first comes Orestes Brownson's initial request for a Catholic protagonist. Brownson does not mention the specifics of the protagonist's nationality, so Sadlier focuses on what is specifically requested from her in Brownson's story contest. And her strong belief in the preservation of Irish and Catholic identities reflects on her characters and their life choices in "Willy Burke," leading her to minimize and even eliminate the formation of the American identity in the plot. Therefore, in "Willy Burke" she is not interested in an assimilationist guidance policy for her characters: her guidance is towards a religious isolation that would prevent the immigrant from mingling with Protestant American society. The only acceptable Protestant characters that Sadlier allows a friendship with her Catholic characters are those who later convert to Catholicism. Therefore, the good Irish Catholic character is not assimilated on religious and national levels; rather he is the "good shepherd" that leads to the religious assimilation of Protestant characters like Dawson and Mr. Weimar.<sup>67</sup>

### **Belongings and Belonging: Citizenship via Property**

Whiteness was one of the first belongings the Irish immigrant acquired during the process of belonging to the US on national and racial levels. The rapid increase in the number of Irish immigrants, the fear of Catholic domination, and the challenging socio-economic confrontations among the white race complicated the inclusion of the Irish in white America. The receiving nation viewed the situation as problematic, for the Irish claimed whiteness but they did not possess each and every one of the Protestant American values which would have made their transition into the receiving culture easier. Following a self-elevating plan, they became naturalized, acquired property, and became Irish-Americans.

Whiteness was freedom, citizenship, and a ‘balanced’ equality, whereas blackness was slavery, anti-citizenship, degradation, and segregation. Thus, the European immigrant chose to identify with whiteness, taking advantage of that invisible color which ironically made them visible. As Thomas Guglielmo argues in *White on Arrival* (2000), people are not born into races, but they create them and fit into the molds of man-made identities. He also argues that there was also a racial hierarchy under the general title of whiteness: “we must admit of a system of ‘difference’ by which one might be both white *and* racially distinct from other whites” (Guglielmo 6). The inclusion of immigrants into the white race created these layers to distinguish them from each other. As Barbara Fields argues in “Whiteness, Racism, and Identity” (2001), white supremacy made white identity available for the European immigrants (153), who started to identify themselves under the title of white instead of Italians, French, Irish, and so on. When Italian immigrants, for example, saw the opportunities provided by joining the white race, they exchanged their ethnic background for a part of a larger social construction. Because this social category “carried considerable power and provided resources,” immigrants started to use it to their advantage (Guglielmo 169). The “Irish immigrants,” Painter argues, “quickly recognized how to use the American color line to elevate white ... over black,” which resulted in the majority’s support for the pro-slavery Democratic Party (143). Understandably, poor immigrants needed to be white to have a chance of claiming power and resources. In other words, whiteness offered equality in economics, but most importantly it promised equal standing on a social level.

Racial formation is a structured power demonstration. It starts with one ‘superior’ race claiming the center of the racial orbit, and the members of this race decide how to evaluate other people on the basis of their closeness to the center. In other words, racial formation is based on

a hegemonic interaction between races. In *Hierarchical Structures and Social Value* (1990) Richard E. Williams argues that “the creation of ethnicity and race affects all members of a given social system, because this creation results from the formation of a vertical polarity to represent a relationship based upon economic, moral, and social inequality within a specific social system” (3). Williams’ argument explains how immigrant groups became a part of the racial discourse in nineteenth-century US by simply being affected by the circumstances around them. The creation of whiteness and the immigrant’s desire to obtain it created a domino effect, influencing all immigrant groups and situating them within racial categories. In order to distance themselves from African-Americans, immigrants needed to accept that they were white. Williams’ argument, however, is on the creation of black and Irish identities in general. He argues that black and Irish identities were socio-historical creations constructed by their position within the labor market, the social structure, their skin color, religion, and country of origin (R. E. Williams 145). He explains how these economically and socially disadvantaged racial groups were seen as outside of the normal paradigms. He continues his argument, stating that race gradually becomes natural, as people begin to base racial categories on biological and social marks. Race is not only formed inorganically, but is also formed to look like an organic structure.

The progress of the immigrant Irish Catholic was valued, and Allen says that the privileges accorded to their new identity were “defended—not as Irish-American rights, but as ‘white men’s rights’” (1:188). In this perspective, the more the immigrant performed whiteness, the more American he became—being gradually stripped of the immigrant half of his identity. Moreover, naturalization and the legal process that accompanied the right to citizenship demanded the non-American comply with the law of identifying—and being identified—as

white. According to Cheryl Harris, race alone is not an oppressing factor, but it is “the interaction between conceptions of race and property that played a critical role in establishing and maintaining racial and economic subordination” (1716). Therefore, many Irish immigrants became naturalized in order to avoid subordination to native-born Americans and other ethnic and immigrant groups. In the meantime, the *Pilot* vociferously presented naturalization as the most influential way to economic and social prosperity for Irish immigrants in the US. The white hegemony created a working system for their own end when they delimited the privilege of owning land exclusively to the white race. This strong connection to property ownership engendered the appropriation of white identity as an advantageous entitlement that needed to be vigorously acquired. As Harris notes, “[a]ccording to whiteness actual legal status converted an aspect of identity into an external object of property, moving whiteness from privileged identity to a vested interest” (1725). This conferment attracted the interest of the racially in-between immigrant groups, and as a phenomenal criterion for inclusion, they excluded the blacks, since white race membership is based on the exclusion of the other.

The pathway of the *Pilot* to guide immigrants toward naturalization and property ownership included the paper’s use of its influential power in creating a racial identification with whiteness for the Irish. Understanding the importance attributed to race in the formation of the legalized American identity, the Irish were quick to adopt whiteness as their rightful property. Naturalization became the ultimate goal for the immigrant, for “[t]o be unfit for naturalization—that is, to be non-White—implied a certain degeneracy of intellect, morals, self-restraint, and political values; to be suited for citizenship—to be White—suggested moral maturity, self-assurance, personal independence, and political sophistication” (Haney-López 16). Therefore,

the *Pilot* processed Irish immigrants on the grounds of race and nationality and guided them toward naturalization and property ownership in their printed material.

Property ownership works in two ways: first, it acts as the means to become an American. Enabling the immigrant within the capitalistic world of American life, property helps its owner to find his way to citizenship. Second, it becomes the means to secure and reinforce one's place in society. Property is a chief concern of the *Pilot*, as it is believed to be a substance of the native-born American identity. It is not very surprising to see that one of the first instances of property ownership that is mentioned in "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" is that of food allowances on immigrant vessels. The ability to attain food was in the domain of wealthier classes during the Irish Famine, and the poor were leaving the country in large numbers because of their lack of access to sustenance. For the famine stricken Irish immigrants, O'Hanlon presents this food as part of their ticket, thus as their property. He meticulously mentions the portions and kinds of food that has to be distributed on the ship according to English and American laws. O'Hanlon also mentions that these are not of the best quality, hence he states the benefits of bringing food onboard. The list provided by O'Hanlon is very detailed in terms of variety, quantity and directions of how to properly cook and store the food on the ship.<sup>68</sup> Even though food is seen as an essential property of the emigrating Irish, clothing and similar materials do not count as desirable property according to O'Hanlon. The ownership of land, on the other hand, is what counts since it binds the immigrant and the land of adoption, making the connection more formal and steady.

In the guide, real property needs to be one of the ultimate goals of the immigrant. However, in "Willy Burke," the Burke family does not own any tangible and inheritable belongings. The only inheritance Willy receives from his father, apart from his faith, is his old

coat. Accordingly, the devout immigrant only owns symbols and materials related to religion. Instead of spending their wages, Willy and his sisters intend to buy a cross for their mother's grave, another connection to the land. Yet this connection is not permanent even though it denotes a piece of land as belonging to their family. It is borrowed and temporary. The only way for the Burke family to make abiding connections with property is through staying loyal to Catholicism. Thus, Willy owns railroad shares, but the successful immigrant is not the owner of real property. On his way up the social ladder, Willy represents the man for whom property ownership is not a means to obtain citizenship and whiteness, but a goal in the capitalist States.

Property is not only important for the economic growth of the immigrant, but it also grants to the naturalized person and landowner the right to vote. Naturalization granted the outsider a chance to be an insider, and the *Pilot* was eager to turn each one of the newcomers of the Irish race into naturalized citizens. The published material on this matter ranged from guides to editorials and advertisements. During 1851, naturalization is promoted not only through O'Hanlon's guide but also through "Lessons on Naturalization," another short series published simultaneously and written by John Tighe, a counsellor-at-law specializing in naturalization. Assimilation is shown as the first step to naturalization, and naturalization is a more important step towards property acquisition and the right to vote. In their terms, owning a property becomes synonymous with being an independent, respected and successful individual economically and politically. Moreover, the *Pilot* reserves space on its pages to give examples of downtrodden Irish immigrants. They give examples of Americans who reject the Irish right to hold office, or the right to receive justice in American courts. And according to Tighe and O'Hanlon, the Irish are in constant danger of losing the chance to naturalize, to be regarded "merely as strangers,--friendly visitors from some neighboring country or nation."<sup>69</sup>

John Tighe, in his column, mentions rights not possessed by aliens such as holding government offices, owning property and joining the receiving country's armed forces. The foreigner, in his words, does not make steady investments, but rather prefers personal property, which is "volatile, transitory, perishable kind of property,--of a movable, changeable nature ...."<sup>70</sup> According to him, the immigrant's desire to earn money without gaining the right to buy land to start a generational transmission of land ownership in this new country is a futile effort. It is inexplicable for Tighe, for it is the ownership of some parcel of this new country's soil that will make the immigrant a citizen, and a respectful one at that,

What is it that gives a man a tone of responsibility as a member of civil society.

[...] It is the possession of land, the possession of the homestead, the possession of some place on earth which he has a right to call his own; it is the possession of real, tangible, corporeal property, which the vicissitude of human affairs affects so slightly; that species of property which alone may be said to affect consanguinity; that real, lasting, immovable and unchangeable kind of property which is the inheritance to the descendants of the blood of its first owners. Are these foreign dwellers in possession of this sort of property? The answer is plain; they are not owners, they cannot own this kind of estate. Naturalization alone enables them to become the owners of the soil, and to transmit it to their descendants.<sup>71</sup>

The next week, O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" mentions that if the Irish immigrant awaits respect in the United States, then "they must secure the possession of some little holding, or property."<sup>72</sup> Property ownership allows the immigrant to take root in the new country, the symbolism of which is important in terms of belonging. For instance, guidance towards migrating to the West, owning land as real property and to the acquisition of settler identity can

be found in letters from readers. In a letter written by an Edward Gillin, the immigrant is recommended to “proceed West, [...] where the Indians evacuated in September last, to leave more room for the white man [...]”<sup>73</sup> This sentence demonstrates not only the acquisition of white identity but also settler identity by Irish-Americans as a characteristic of their American identity, transmitted by native-born Americans. These learned identity aspects signify how immigrants acquire the social and racial ideas of their receiving culture as part of their acculturation. Gillin’s sentence, for example, reveals how he, as part of his acculturation, came to accept the forced removal of indigenous people as a voluntary evacuation for “white people,” a racial group in which he includes the Irish, a sign that suggests his identity developed from immigrant to American. Furthermore, as the immigrant owns a piece of land, and lets himself and his family grow on the new soil, his attachment to his native land weakens in legal terms yet may continue on an emotional level. Ceasing visible attachments to Ireland lets the immigrant obtain formal attachment to his adopted country. Therefore, immigration is not only an alteration of land, but it is also an amputation and evolution. It is an amputation, for the immigrant has to sever his ties to his birth nationality. As a learned acquisition, nationalistic belonging is fluid in its changeability. It is an evolution since the severed ties of national belonging have to grow, adapt and evolve due to the necessities of their new country.

The *Pilot*’s guidance on the subjects of whiteness, property ownership and naturalization, therefore, offers a wide range of supporting material in the identity construction of the immigrant. To this end, the paper’s printed material highlights assimilation to American ways as a necessary step in the incorporation of the immigrant into American society. As a representative of the print media, the *Pilot* emphasizes the importance of accepting the values of the receiving culture in order to be received as a valued member in return. O’Hanlon’s non-fictional and



Sadlier's fictional works complement each other and the *Pilot's* agenda in guiding the Irish immigrant into being a faithful Irish-American citizen. There are, though, differences between the fictional and non-fictional immigrant guidance traditions of Sadlier and O'Hanlon. Sadlier suggests through her characters that Irish Catholic immigrants keep their faith, be docile, elevate their social and economic status, and to segregate from the Protestant habitus to preserve their Catholic Irishness. O'Hanlon, on the other hand, advises immigrants to create legal and loyal bonds to their adopted country, to assimilate to a great extent, to be docile members of the society, to move Westwards, and to preserve their faith. The corresponding points in these two guides of conduct are the preservation of faith, docility and the elevation of the immigrant's socio-economic situation. Therefore, these two works have parallel subjects yet they do not necessarily guide the immigrant using the exact same advice. The struggle to guide the immigrant to an ideal Irish-American identity at the peak of Irish immigration led the *Pilot* to give importance to the publication of print material such as the works of Sadlier and O'Hanlon, which would cooperatively guide newcomers to the desired resolutions. It is also interesting to note how the paper utilizes news articles about Sims, Sullivan and Kossuth and connects them around the value of becoming a naturalized and whitened Irish-American community. The other material handled in this chapter, such as the news article on the murder of Desmond and the reader's letter condemning the paper over their perspective on the Sims case, offer more insights on Americanization and race relations. The constant parallelism drawn between Sims, Kossuth and Sullivan contribute to the creation of the racial ideas of Irish immigrants. According to the paper's discourse during this period, if the newcomer disregarded his duty to assimilate and naturalize, he would find himself reduced to the situation of Sullivan, since the paper believed that the situation of the Irish immigrant was more in jeopardy when compared to the fugitive

slave or the ‘anarchist’ foreigner. In its guidance policy, the *Pilot* during its publication of “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide” and “Willy Burke” was still an immigrant newspaper. Its advice during this period addressed the problems of the immigrant and guided them in the racial discourse of the American nation, which actually is an attempt to protect them from the subjugated in-between racial identity imposed by the native-born Americans. Therefore, as historians say, it was necessary for the Irish to become a part of the racial discourse, because it was seen as the only way to protect their community from racial discrimination. And yet, with the rise of nativism and the Know-Nothing party, the Irish newcomers, with their need for guidance to steer them through their new circumstances after the Famine, would be the target of nativist accusations and would need the *Pilot*’s guidance again, this time for an equal opportunity for labor under the same conditions as native-born Americans, without being subjected to nativist prejudice.

In this chapter, I presented the *Pilot*’s ideal Irish-American citizen and the paper’s efforts in this identity construction with the help of guides, fiction and news articles throughout to 1850 and 1851. In the next chapter, I will mention how this ideal Irish-American is further guided on the subject of labor and directed towards a membership of the white labor force. In this chapter, the difficulty of the period lay in the rising population of unguided immigrants. In the following chapter, I will write about the rising nativist sentiments of American society, and the guidance the paper provided to the laborer amidst all the turmoil.

### **Chapter III: “One really industrious and sober Irish emigrant”: Guiding the Irish Laborer**

Labor is the constructing power behind the stabilization and development of a society's economics, and the labor force provides the much-needed muscle power to run this capital mechanism. Even though the importance attributed to labor is tremendous, the position of the manual laborer in the nineteenth-century suffered from social degradation and inequality. During the mid-nineteenth century, Irish-Americans were specifically the target of nativist criticism and prejudice due to their low social standing. The prejudices and the nativist fear of the Irish Catholic grew to a point where the drunken, lazy and superstitious Irish caricatures emerged in American society as successors to the English portrayals of the Irish. Irish-Americans, already tired of the English influence on their social and economic lives, proceeded to alter their situation in the States. The *Pilot's* strategy for this alteration was the use of printed material that taught immigrants how through their own development they could change the way the whole Irish race on the American continent was perceived.

The question of race in the *Pilot* becomes evident once more as the data for this chapter is analyzed. The paper's recurring mention of African-Americans makes it almost impossible to analyze any period of the paper's history without making any references to the Irish campaign for entitlement to whiteness. The subject of labor is mentioned in other chapters in relation to agricultural labor and the consequences of the abolition of slavery in terms of racial enmity between Irish-American and African-American laborers. In this chapter, however, I will limit my examination of relations between these two races to comparisons of these two workforces made by the newspaper. By limiting myself to the use of race in the workforce, I focus on the *Pilot's*

creation of racial animosity within the Irish labor force against the black laborer. This is explanatory of the Irish laborer's renowned fear of and hatred for the black man, but a more inclusive study on the paper's attitude towards other ethnicities would offer a much clearer example of Irish attitudes towards members of other workforces and so clarify their racial and economic standing in relation to other ethnic groups. I use whiteness and labor studies to discuss the paper's self-identification of Irish-Americans with white Americans and its reflections on the racial relationships of Irish-Americans with African-Americans. In the *Pilot*, Irish laborers are distinguished from African-American laborers by highlighting the contributions of the Irish to American morals and emphasizing their suitability to the American household. This is because the Irish immigrants, as historian Nell Irvin Painter argues, "quickly recognized how to use the American color line to elevate white ... over black" (143). And this social distance from blackness was an essential component of whiteness, as Roediger demonstrates in *The Wages of Whiteness*. In order to overturn the parallels between Irish and black stereotypes, the *Pilot* advises immigrants to change their conduct, which led to the articulation of these negative characterizations, in addition to advising property ownership and upward mobility in occupations.

As a means to this end, the *Pilot* publishes a series entitled "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes,"<sup>1</sup> that aims to instruct the laborer about naturalization, education, property, and labor. The series first appears on April 15, 1854 and is serialized in 52 numbers of the newspaper until April 28, 1855. This series teaches the Irish immigrant laborer his value for American economics and society, while it advocates sobriety and industriousness. According to an anonymous author,<sup>2</sup> the object of this series "is merely to point out things as they really are in America to Irish immigrants, and not as they think them, or desire them to be."<sup>3</sup> The author, like

O'Hanlon, aims to demonstrate a realistic picture of the United States to the Irish immigrant on his way to becoming a successful Irish-American. Lord, et al. describes the "Practical Lessons" as "a real and worthwhile attempt to instruct the people and show just what they must do if they wished to become assimilated and play a vital part in American life" (2: 746). The importance of property ownership for an adopted citizen is another point similar to O'Hanlon's "Irish Emigrant's Guide." Recalling the significance of property for the Irish under British rule, "Practical Lessons" notes that "the first thing the tyrant, the oppressor, the despoiler, will do to render his victim helpless, is to deprive him of his property."<sup>4</sup> Irish-Americans of the Famine generation carry the reminders of the deprivation they faced under British rule; as a result, avoiding the repetition of this tyranny and deprivation needed to be essential components of their lives in America. In order to manage this, the author guides the Irish immigrant towards American ideals of property ownership as a way of adapting to the financial values of their adopted country. This series also sets boundaries between the Irish labor force and the African-American labor force, stating that the "substitution of Irish emigrant labor and Irish emigrant domestics instead of African labor and African domestics" is the reason behind the improvement of the morals of American people.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the portrayal of the white race and race relations regarding Irish-American and Irish immigrant laborers is one of the subjects analyzed in this chapter. Since race has been a controversial matter for Irish-Americans, through analysis of this series I examine how the *Pilot* tries to change the disadvantageous racial status of the Irish into an advantageous one with the uplift of the Irish-American labor force. Examination of the "Practical Lessons" is important to understand the ideal Irish-American laborer the *Pilot* wishes to create. The paper's idealization of the laborer shows the paper's desire to improve the image of the Irish-American citizen through the correction of the Irish-American laborer. The study of

this series demonstrates the qualities of that ideal laborer, and helps to understand the quintessential labor environment for the Irish-American to thrive in. The editorials and news articles from 1854 and 1855, which substantially focus on Know-Nothings and nativism, develop the conversation surrounding the paper's guidance of Irish-Americans and Irish immigrants in the face of anti-Catholic and anti-Irish attitudes. Moreover, other labor and laborer-related materials from the early 50s and 60s reveal whether or not the Irish laborers struggled with the same problems in their attempt to avoid nativist discrimination as laborers and attain white racial status at the expense of the black laborer. An analysis of "Practical Lessons" together with these materials also reveals the ambivalent position of the *Pilot* regarding the matter of labor, as the paper sympathizes with the problems of the laborer in spite of its opposition to violent labor riots. These articles provide a good knowledge of the *Pilot's* complicated demeanor regarding manual laborers and labor riots. Future research may also reveal the *Pilot's* stance on the subject of labor unions, an important subject that I decided not to include in this study. Furthermore, the correspondence from laborers working on different railroad companies across the country offer an insight into understanding the *Pilot's* effect on Irish-American laborers.

Apart from "Practical Lessons," I look at the work of Anna Hanson Dorsey, an American convert to Catholicism, who contributed a large body of literature to the *Pilot*. I incorporate a short analysis of her work "Dummie,"<sup>6</sup> which was published in instalments between January 6, 1855, and March 17, 1855. An important part of Dorsey's serialized novel "~~Dummie~~" is illegible; however, the remaining parts form the general outlines of the story. An analysis of what is left of this literary work will recover the entirety of this novel, which was never published in any other print medium and therefore is amongst the forgotten works of literary history. "Dummie" does not focus on recent events but narrates the events of the War of 1812

leading to the Burning of Washington in 1814. Dorsey dedicates this work to General Shields, “whose faithful devotion to his adopted country entitles him to a people’s gratitude.”<sup>7</sup> The characters and incidents of Dorsey’s novel are analyzed in relation to “Practical Lessons” to demonstrate themes that appear in both fictional and non-fictional texts. The reason for this comparison is to see what the author of the factual work suggests for the laborer and to what extent traces of this real life advice can be found in the fictional work. Is there a parallelism between the fiction and non-fiction on the subjects they handle, and if there is, then how does this guide the Irish community in the States? A mutual analysis of fiction and nonfiction in this sense offers an opinion on the interaction between different types of printed material, all of which are aimed to guide and/or instruct the Irish immigrant and Irish-American towards a status acceptable within American society. However, there are three problems with “Dummie,”: the first is with the setting of this work since it focuses on the War of 1812. The second problem is that manual laborers as leading characters are conspicuous by their absence in Dorsey’s text, and yet in this absence lies Dorsey’s desire to characterize the Irish as men of higher status as soldiers and politicians; I try to unravel this conundrum as I analyze the work. And the third problem is the illegibility of some issues, which I mentioned above. In spite of these challenges, Dorsey’s text represents the Irish differently from Sadlier in “Willy Burke”; consistent with the aspirations of the *Pilot* and “Practical Lessons”, her characters occupy high social positions and vocations.

The changing labor propaganda of the *Pilot* over the years is evident in the adjustment of the articles written specifically for laborers. The call for Western expansion, the encouragement for Irish laborers to settle in unoccupied lands and become their own masters is a recurring theme in the paper. But long before these calls in the 1860s, the paper first established the series of

“Practical Lessons” for members of the working class who wished to succeed in their adopted country. In order to form and support a favored image of the Irish laborer, the *Pilot* opposed labor riots, as it feared these riots would support the image of the Irish as violent and incapable of assimilating. However, even though the *Pilot* and its printed material opposed riots, it also aimed to protect the Irish immigrant laborer from an unjust labor environment and exploitation. The analysis of these materials on labor offers a more detailed and precise outcome at the end of this chapter as I analyze the *Pilot*’s role in guiding Irish immigrants into an ideal labor force.

### **The Irish on the Job Market: A Laborious Ode to Whiteness**

The nineteenth-century United States needed manpower to help western expansion with the building of railroads and canals. Native Americans considered these manual jobs as arduous and degrading for the slavish conditions in which the laborers had to work. Therefore, the immigrant workforce and especially Irish immigrants proceeded to accept these jobs because of their availability on the job market. These jobs devalued the quality of the labor provided by Irish immigrants, initiated racial prejudice and created a stereotypical identity for Irish-Americans in general. In order to change this prejudice and to elevate the social standing of Irish immigrants, the “Practical Lessons” sets out to construct a new alternative Irish-American identity. This ideal Irish-American is not a member of the manual labor force; he works on his own farm. Although he still has to do manual work, he knows his rights, becomes a citizen, and is a property owner who works for no one but himself.

The *Pilot* is essentially clear in its advice to immigrants in their search for a better future in the land of opportunities. Like O’Hanlon in “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide,” the author of the series “Practical Lessons” is highly aware of the image of the drunk, lazy, superstitious, and



violent gang member Irish stereotype. The *Pilot* did not include cartoons in its printed material; publishing cartoons was not one of the characteristics of the paper. However, this stereotype of the Irish was so deeply embedded in American thought that even in the 1880s, prominent American magazines caricatured them on their pages, an act that further contributed to the struggle of the Irish over whiteness and the American identity. This Irish stereotype in American cartoons grew out of the English stereotype with its attributed simian features. However, it becomes Americanized over time, as the Irish in cartoons became humanized—and yet stays violent and deceitful in character. The Irish caricature on the page shares his simian features with the African-American man, whose body was distanced from its unity by its distorted representation in cartoons. However, as Banta says, African-American man gets a chance to recover his dignity in Thomas Nast's cartoons, at the expense of the dignity of the Irish (28). The African-American man becomes humanized and dignified—yet beaten or murdered—as the Irish lose their human aspect and turns into a violent ape. This 'prescriptive' image of the Irish immigrant is a byproduct of the racial and nativist anxieties experienced by American society, and they reflect how society tries to differentiate the uncanny newcomer from their white nation by sympathizing with the black man. According to Jodi Melamed, this sympathy towards the black man was not out of benevolence for the good of the black race. Melamed discusses through Baldwin's texts how nineteenth-century fictional works, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, created a sentimental discourse "to establish an epistemology that guaranteed white salvation" (xi). She argues that this salvation required anti-abolitionists to direct their racial hatred of the black race towards slavery, and therefore create a discourse where slavery and its evils were the targets of such sentimental works. Similarly, in the cartoons that are mentioned here, the white man has another aim in elevating blackness over the whiteness of the Irish. The image of the black man

was preferred to that of the Irish man, but it did not represent the nativist acceptance of the black man into the American nation with open arms. It represented the reluctance of the nativists to accept the Irish on a whiteness scale that was similar to their socially, culturally, and economically more secure and superior social status, even if that meant tolerating the black existence. Moreover, the discourse of racial formation was based on the ideals of nationalism since the nineteenth-century US valued white Protestant American cultural traits, possessed by those with the power of authority and in the majority. In this sense, race and ethnicity were important elements to decide who belonged to the American nation and who did not. Scholars Martha Banta, Henry Wonham, Peter Quinn, Dale Knobel, Cian T. McMahon and Kerry Soper look at the representation of the Irish on the stage and the page. Wonham suggests that the exaggerated physical and cultural characteristics attributed to the ethnic caricature reduce its subjects to a type (142). According to him, the ethnic subjects represented in this way help to promote racial identities by “exhibiting their unfitness for assimilation in exaggerated contortions” (Wonham 30). The Irish, unfit for integrating into the American nation because of their anti-assimilationist stance, surfaces in Knobel’s work as a violent figure. Knobel says that the Irish caricature’s inability to be assimilated into American values and his association with gangs and violence put him outside the norms of American nationality (130). Moreover, he says “[l]anguage that captured the perception of the Irish as naturally violent, emotional, and turbulent, once idiomatic, whether a consequence of real experience or of belief, then became prescriptive” (Knobel 85). Knobel’s idea on the transformation of a constructed belief into an accepted dogma is important because this transformation creates the stereotypes that are offensive to the targetted group. It also gives the cartoonists and the majority of the nation the power to label the ethnic other.

This Irish image was rendered to reflect nativist fears, with ape-like features and barbaric behavior attributed to the Irish stereotype, and whose prospect of becoming a part of the nation was even less desired than that of free African-American citizens. Therefore, the American cartoonist drew the lines for immigrant caricatures, and in the process he constructed an identity that both shaped and reflected how the public perceived these people. In particular, German-American cartoonist Thomas Nast provides a great number of cartoons about the Irish and African-Americans to *Harper's Weekly*. In these cartoons, the Irish and the African-American share a common simian feature. However, when the two come together, the Irish are drawn more ape-like. In fact, in almost every such cartoon I encountered, the deceived, beaten or murdered African-Americans were in complete human form without any inhuman features attributed to them.<sup>8</sup> The Irish who deceive, beat and murder these African-Americans, on the other hand, were almost always simian. Wonham states that this act of creating a “knowable, unitary type” resulted in the dehumanization of the ethnic character since images of these stereotypical ethnic characters were used “to blur the line between man and ape, even as they inscribe an ever more inflexible conceptual boundary between the ‘higher’ and ‘lower’ races” (Wonham 71, 129). Over time, we see that the Irish caricature becomes humanized, albeit sometimes still with a little simian feature. The African-American man, on the other hand, either becomes a stereotypical Sambo with his wide-open eyes, big lips, and child-like smile on his face or stays simian. This shows that the white cartoonists ‘tolerated’ and drew the African-American image as human, as long as the black man was an asset to prove the barbarism of the violent Irish image. These caricatures further complicated the racial identification of the Irish, for they—as representatives of American thought—placed the Irish sometimes equal with but mainly below the African-American man. Negative representations of the Irish immigrant damaged the status of all Irish-

Americans, resulting in upper-class efforts to correct the negative image of the working-class Irish that had emigrated to America in the mid-nineteenth century. The racial representation of the Irish by caricature in nativist print culture and the paper's response to it shape the guides and series published in the *Pilot*, which aim to remove the immigrant from the slightest identification with these stereotypes. As a step to shift the Irish immigrant from these negative stereotypes towards an ideal Irish-American identity, this series offers ample information on how to improve one's condition in the United States as an immigrant Irish laborer fighting to be acknowledged as a respected member of the nation they emigrated into.

Immigration waves into the United States and issues concerning jobs, capital and citizenship brought to the fore a specific problem of belonging to a race, specifically, to whiteness. Irish immigrants of the early and mid-nineteenth century had been a part of this racial dialogue since their lack of capital, and thus power, tainted them in the eyes of white Americans. The Irish tried to learn the ways of the New World under the scrutinizing gaze of nativists. The members of the white Protestant American society analyzed the way in which the Irish lived, talked, dressed and worshipped. This was important for native-born Americans to decide if these immigrants were worthy of becoming a member of the American nation. Irish immigrants were especially under constant panoptical gaze since they were pioneers of the mass immigrant waves of the mid-nineteenth century, and their growing numbers raised questions about citizenship, racial degeneration and nationhood. These questions fueled nativist anxiety and shaped the perception of the public about the Irish. Newspapers, magazines, and other forms of mass media were influential in the creation of this perception. The nativist anxiety over the danger of the Irish Catholic transgressing racial boundaries resulted in the creation of anti-Catholic and anti-Irish images in print media. In the end, the Irish fell victim to their animalistic, brutal,

unassimilable and violent characterization on the pages of American newspapers and magazines. For instance, during the Draft Riots of 1863, “the mainstream press blamed the violence on the combative traits of the Irish—a ‘race of miscreants,’ according to the *New York Times*” (Kibler 33). The distorted image of the Irish led Irish immigrants to perceive themselves from the eyes of the white beholder. In political cartoons as well as on the racial stage they were similar to the black man. Moreover, the Irish were generally seen as wild because native-born Americans thought they lacked civilization. They were also regarded as ignorant, idle, superstitious, and clannish. This idea was reminiscent of the English views of the Irish, whose unfavorable opinions were mainly triggered because of the identification of many Irish with the Catholic Church. For example, in an 1849 book published in England, the Irish are described as the source of the starving condition they are in, since “their inveterate habits of mendicancy and sloth paralyse them, ignorance and superstition stultify them, bigotry and darkness are fostered by their Romish priests” (Goodwyn 28).<sup>9</sup> These English opinions about the Irish followed them through their trans-Atlantic journey and helped establish a racialized identity for the Irish on American soil. The guides published in the *Pilot* were at war with these ethnic images of the caricatured Irish, whose constant drunkenness and resulting lawless behavior constituted a problem for the loyal and orderly Irish-American image the newspaper tried to construct.

Underlying the guides in the *Pilot* was the assumption that the fulfillment of the American Dream would be possible through the destruction of their caricatured images, which threateningly resembled the caricatured African-American with their simian features. Even though some studies point to the construction of whiteness as a status offering economic, social and racial power, others emphasize that whiteness is created in opposition to blackness.<sup>10</sup> Thus, with a claim to whiteness Irish-Americans strongly believed in white supremacy, and

aggressively reinforced the color barrier between them and the black people, which led them to win their right to whiteness and being American. But the question of ‘who is white?’ lingers on with white racial identity. As Benjamin Franklin mentions in 1755, whiteness was first attributed to the English, making the Anglo-Saxons the only rightful owners of white skin (224). Therefore, whiteness is not solely formed of skin color, but is comprised of different components. At some point, being white meant being of European descent, being Protestant Christian, being a male and having financial power. Peter Kolchin, for example, states that the Catholic identity of the Irish was deemed more threatening than their color in their search for whiteness, highlighting the inextricable element of Protestant faith in whiteness (163). In *The Wages of Whiteness*, Roediger demonstrates that another essential component of whiteness was its social distance from blackness, since it was neutralized and formed as the counterpart of the black race. According to Roediger, white identity transforms into a privilege for the immigrant working classes, who try to escape from stereotypical racial categories by distancing themselves as far from the African-American slave as possible. Therefore, being white as opposed to being black became a major boon for white immigrants. As Baldwin says, “America became white—the people who, as they claim, “settled” the country became white—because of the necessity of denying the black presence and justifying the black subjugation” (136). In other words, as Jacobson puts it, whiteness was fabricated due to the necessities forced by society; politics as well as labor were important parts of the interaction between race and class. He states “political standing, doled out on racial terms (such as the naturalization code limiting citizenship to ‘free white persons’), translates immediately into economic realities such as property rights or labor-market segmentation” (Jacobson *Whiteness* 21). As the reader goes through the printed material in the

*Pilot*, the importance the paper attributes to these subjects reveals that the paper also considers property and labor as the two leading forces.

Along with economic reasons and the desire for inclusion in mainstream American society, the poor white working class was haunted by the fear of being turned into slaves that made them cling to the phenomena of whiteness. This also made the line between poor and wealthy whites sharper and enforced the line between the poor white and slaves, as the former did not want to be forced onto the “other” side. In order to prevent this, whiteness seemed to be a way of claiming their “natural birthright” as people of the United States. Society completely separated whiteness and blackness by forming a racial language and then using it on the social stage. Although it meant the same thing for observers, white working-class people became “help” instead of servants (Roediger *Wages* 48),<sup>11</sup> which underlined that they worked of their own free will, not by force, and that they were free, not “unfree” like blacks who were separated from their freedom (this implies their fear of being “unfreed” by the capitalist system). The *Pilot* compares the American and Irish laborers in the service industry, and claims “Americans do not make good servants as a general thing,” and adds:

The American servant must have high wages, independence in locomotion, the right to disregard your rights if they interfere with his privileges ... The Irish waiter excels most others, because of his habits of obedience, and attention,--his real desire to please, and the fact that he is a home body, he has not the migratory propensities of the Yankee, .... He does not remind you every hour of the day that he is as good as you and better too. He is naturally inclined, if you treat him well, and as he deserves to be treated, to regard your house as his home.<sup>12</sup>

The *Pilot*'s opinion on the status of American servants is that they do not form a good class of laborers in the service industry because of their racial identification with American employers. In fact, the attitude of the American servant as mentioned here is similar to O'Hanlon's advice to avoid working at places where the white employer situates himself as the racial superior of his white employee. However, this time contradicting its previous printed material, the *Pilot* underlines the virtue of obedience embedded in the character of waiters and servants, and the immobility of the laborer. The Irish servant the paper pictures in this paragraph is quite close to an African-American slave in submission, immobility, attachment and dependency. The only difference between the two, however, is that these traits of the Irish domestic servant are voluntary as opposed to the forced and compulsory nature of those traits in the slave's laboring life.

Labor became a battleground in the construction of whiteness against blackness in the nineteenth-century. The *Pilot* anticipates in 1851, by virtue of O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide", that labor competition between the poor immigrants and freed slaves would become more intensified in the 1860s and 1870s. The competition was fierce, especially after the Civil War. The newly 'freed' slaves started to shape a new workforce, which threatened the immigrant population's jobs. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, the conflict between the white and black laborer classes stemmed from limited job opportunities available for the newly freed African-American and the poor white laborer in the Reconstruction period. Du Bois says, "the white laborers realized that Negroes were part of a group of millions of workers who were slaves by law, and whose competition kept white labor out of the work of the South and threatened its wages and stability in the North" (19). He shows that a cheap African-American workforce posed a threat to the class of poor white immigrant laborers, a threat so immense that it turned



free black laborers into antagonists of white laborers. And although the competition for wages was important, it was not the only problem between the white and black laborers. The similarities between the newly freed slave and the poor white immigrant became more pronounced as they fought for the same jobs. Therefore, labor was not only the source of strife but also the ‘degradation’ of the white man. The creation of “us” and “them” on the racial stage can be seen as proof of the Irish immigrants’ strengthening racial identity as they further distanced themselves from African-Americans. And as Robin Kelley argues, similarly to Baldwin and Du Bois, “economically disadvantaged white people claimed whiteness as a hope to escape blackness for “the white poor who supported efforts to stop them [black people], the folks whose most valuable possession was probably their skin, put the noose around their neck in exchange for membership in the white race” (5). The competition for economic freedom via labor was intense, and Irish-Americans learned that the easiest way to gain the respect and acknowledgment of American society was through identifying with them on a racial level. Thus, “to enter the white race” as Ignatiev says, “was a strategy to secure an advantage in a competitive society” (3). It was the way to earn a respectable economic standing and become a citizen. According to Southerners, the idea of white slavery, which appeared as part of the Irish-American labor culture and subsequently made its way into print, seemed to taint whiteness (Roediger *Wages* 85). Given all the conditions that made them feel on the edge of slavery, it is not difficult to see why poor white Europeans, specifically the Irish, became one of the fiercest defenders of their skin, which as Jacobson says opened “the golden door” for them (*Whiteness* 8). This membership of the white race, which is “a social formation,” was important to prove their eligibility for better jobs and their sacrifices for the American nation (Ignatiev 190). It was also a necessary step, since the eugenicists of the early twentieth century would later claim that

people less fit to be members of the white race would “evolve” into doing manual labor (Gardner 95). And the Irish, by this time, had already whitened.

Especially for Famine immigrants, the labor industry became an arena for survival as well as for respectability. During the period following the Famine, the jobs available to Irish immigrants were limited, and economic hardships caused the separation of families and widowhood (Roediger *Wages* 153; Diner *Erin's* 45). With the rising numbers of Irish immigrants in need of work, the number of Irish female domestic laborers was on the rise; for instance, in New York they comprised eighty per cent of domestic service providers during the 1850s (Walter 54). As a result of their high numbers in domestic service, the Irish female servant “Bridget” became a widely known stereotype for Irish women in general. The domestic service they provided raised concerns because they did not fit into the norms of servants in the eyes of Americans. Americans expected their white servants to be similar to African-American slaves in submission and lifelong service, whereas Irish girls viewed domestic service as a “temporary job” that sustained their livelihood until marriage (Lynch-Brennan 343). Lynch-Brennan says that employers of Irish female servants criticized the selective nature of their employees, whom they viewed as impudent and snobbish, in the course of looking for a job (344-345). Although many immigrant women did not prefer domestic service as a vocation, Irish immigrant women crowded into domestic service, since “with free room and board included in their salary, servant girls generally enjoyed a higher standard of living than did those in factories and department stores” (D. Ryan 44).<sup>13</sup> Many Irish immigrant women preferred to marry at a later age because of economic opportunity, accessibility, and the financial freedom provided by being single (Diner *Erin's* 70). This financial freedom also provided them with means to support their families back in Ireland. But, regardless of the advantages and the pride they had in their jobs, Irish domestic

laborers also suffered from prejudice. Many employers complained that their Irish servants lacked cooking skills, which undermined their ability as domestic laborers in comparison to African-American domestic servants.

Most of the conflict between Irish female servants and their employers arose from differences in faith, as “Catholics were accused of being spies for the pope and of baptizing Protestant babies while employers were away” (Kibler 75). The nativist fear of Catholicism was on the rise because of housing and employing a Catholic under a Protestant roof—causing American employers to experience Freudian uncanny. The uncanny Bridget became the target of discrimination on many levels. The Irish female servant quickly became a negative laborer figure, devoid of both the moral traits associated with white females and the good housekeeping skills of African-American domestic laborers. For example, in 1852 the *Boston Transcript*, “a Yankee Protestant newspaper, condemned Irish servants for their carelessness, slothfulness, ‘obtuseness,’ ‘gossiping propensities,’ and ingratitude,” to which the *Pilot* responded with a series of letters written by “Bridget” (D. Ryan 42). This short series, published from February 14, 1852, to March 13, 1852, is written by an Irish servant girl as a response to the female correspondent of the *Boston Transcript* to disprove her accusations of Irish domestic servants. In this series of letters, Bridget defends Irish Catholic girls by saying that “this woman seems to think that because we are hired to serve them that it is a privilege to be allowed to keep the commandments, and go to church, and she thinks that the mistress does great things when she lets us go to worship God.”<sup>14</sup> She also mentions that the *Pilot* is the appropriate medium of communication in that matter for it “is the only paper that would give us a chance.”<sup>15</sup> Indeed the *Pilot* continued to support Irish female servants throughout the years by writing on their virtues

and morals, and defending them once more when nativism resurrected the conflict between the Irish Catholic domestic laborers and their Protestant employers.

Nativism emerged in the 1850s due to the rise in the foreign population, which was the result of continuous immigration to America during the 1840s. The “popular cry” of the nativist movement, as the *Pilot* reprints from the *Boston Post* article “The War of Race and Sect,” was “down with foreigners.”<sup>16</sup> The native-born American population started to grow uncomfortable with the increase of immigrants, most of who came from poor European countries and did not belong to the same faith as the native-born Americans. The upsurge of the Know-Nothing movement took place in 1852, when

the false sense of unity that had followed the Compromise of 1850 began to evaporate with the election of Franklin Pierce, the rise of nativism and the Know-Nothing party, the reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law, and the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. In the years that followed, the breakdown of unity continued, aided by the growing power of the radical Abolitionists, expansionist feelings in the South, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which led to the demise of the Whigs and to virtual civil war in Kansas (O’Grady 43).

The enmity of Know-Nothings, or the American Party, to Catholics grew from belief in the idea that Protestantism was the only unifying power that could assure the protection of the American Republic. Starting with the 1820s, “Protestant revivalists had repeatedly attacked any cohesive group, such as the Freemasons or the Mormon or Catholic churches, that supposedly put institutional loyalty above individual moral choice (Bailyn, et al. 412). The continued loyalty of the Irish to the Catholic Church, even after immigration, the repeated calls of the print media to preserve the faith at all consequences, and the identification of the Irish with Catholicism rather

than the Protestant values of their adopted country, fueled the hatred towards Irish Catholics. The *Pilot* reflected on this characterization of the Irish in opposition to the American in its article “Knock Them Down,” by blaming the nativist media for this representation since “the meanness of the know-nothing papers lies in representing us as trying to bring Irishmen into collision with Americans.”<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the animosity towards them was so enormous that in the State of Massachusetts bills were prepared to restrain Irish immigration (K. Miller 323).

In answer to a reader, the *Pilot* states that “Irish servants and employees are the subject of know nothing ‘slanders,” and the working men “have only to ‘live down’ these silly slanders by their fidelity to God, to the church, to the country, and to their employers.”<sup>18</sup> Later during the Draft, the *Pilot* writes an editorial on Irish female servants, who, according to the paper, are the pillars of the Catholic community, both in the US and Ireland. This editorial suggests that nativist accusations and hesitations regarding Irish laborers paved their way into the 1860s. The paper says that the labor of the Irish female servants is devoted to erecting churches and helping their families and that their high moral values separate them from other immigrant and native servants. Additionally, the *Pilot* reacts in defense to nativist accusations, and states, “there is now an attempt made by certain men of New York to have the draft suspended in that city, on the ground that its execution would make the Irish servant girls burn down their masters’ houses, as a revenge for drafting their countrymen.”<sup>19</sup> The *Pilot* opposes this vehemently for they support the loyalty of the Irish servants to their employers regardless of religious conflicts. Furthermore, the *Pilot* suggests that these servant girls provide a sturdy young generation to America and that without their contributions “the American population had been contemptible,” for “the best men, physically and mentally, in America, today, are the sons of Irish servant girls.”<sup>20</sup> The *Pilot* comments that without Irish blood, the United States would not have made any progress due to

the lack of strong laborers, soldiers and citizens. However, this also situates the Irish immigrant and the Irish-American as a sustainable population for the sake of working the wheels of the capitalist and war machineries. The paper showcases the young generation of the Irish on American soil as the savior of the morally and numerically declining American population; yet in doing so it unintentionally presents them as a disposable labor force with large numbers of Irish men dying due to insanitary and unsafe work conditions, a situation which led them to be labeled as a “perishing class” (Diner *Erin’s* 60).

However, by the end of the nineteenth-century the Irish-American women labor force had progressed to white-collar jobs such as nurses and schoolteachers. Irish-American men also became prominent in white-collar jobs and politics by the end of the century, and this led to improvement in the Irish image. Kibler says that “only 10 percent of Irish immigrants in Boston had white-collar jobs in 1890, but 40 percent of second-generation Irish had moved up to white-collar occupations,” and by the turn of the century the college attendance of Irish-Americans was equivalent to that of the native-born Americans (35). Similar to Kibler’s argument, Kerby Miller states that Irish-Americans showed social progress from the 1870s, advancing from the difficult conditions they faced in their adopted country during and after the Famine due to prejudice. However, according to Kerby Miller, this change did not bring tangible prosperity to the Irish-American community at large until the early twentieth century (492). David Noel Boyle, on the other hand, suggests that Irish patriarchs had secured wealth and authority because “from one-third to three-fifths of Irish-born males were skilled or white-collar employees in five leading cities at mid-century” (236). This argument is challenging, for a vast part of the historiography suggests that the Irish population in the mid-nineteenth century generally consisted of unskilled laborers bound to work in manual jobs. The Irish mostly worked in agricultural jobs before

immigrating to the United States, and the number of skilled laborers was low as a result of their rural connections. When they arrived in cities such as Boston and New York, they were too unskilled to try their hands at vocations associated with urban life. As a result, many worked in the mines, or on the roads, providing much needed manpower for public works. Their laborious efforts inspired folk songs about miners, child-workers, and widows, reflecting the toll hard labor took on their bodies and lives (Moloney 20). The author of “Practical Lessons” addresses the high numbers of agricultural laborers in the instalment published on August 5 1854—which I will mention again later in this chapter—and stresses the importance of the manufacturing business for the immigrant, because “next to religion, education and the press, perhaps the most practical agent of enlightenment to a people, is business.”<sup>21</sup> This guidance of the immigrant towards urban centered occupations clashes with O’Hanlon’s guidance of the immigrant towards the benefits of agricultural labor available in the West. Later in 1864, the *Pilot* again directs the Irish to the West in its editorial “How Shall Emigrants Best Establish Themselves in the U.S.?” with the proposal of free land. These “free lands” were given by the government under the Homestead Act that required the homesteader to cultivate and improve the land given to him for five years. Later, six months of residency proved enough for the title of the land as long as the homesteader paid the fee of \$1.25 per acre to the government. In fact, the value of the Civil War for the Irish immigrant’s Americanization and upward mobility was highlighted again with this editorial because “after the Civil War, Union soldiers could deduct the time they served from the residency requirements” (Potter and Schamel). As seen from this progressive mobility from poor immigrant laborers to land owning citizens, a distinctive culture evolved around the Irish-American laborer class, and this culture also demonstrated the upward mobility of the Irish laborer from blue to white-collar jobs. Notwithstanding, for those that remained in the service

industry, the *Pilot*'s attitude was embracing because even though the paper advised the Irish to improve themselves socially, it also took pride in the honest labor of the Irish manual laborers and domestics. For example, in an ad published in 1864, the paper puts an advertisement for a Mrs. Ellen Collins, who provides "reliable and well recommended" domestics to her patrons by employing "respectable girls."<sup>22</sup> And yet in an ad published earlier that year, the *Pilot* advertises for a situation at the request of a lady "to teach the English branches and Music."<sup>23</sup> This not only shows the *Pilot*'s range of readership base included Irish-Americans of different social status, but also that, though desirable, upward mobility to white-collar jobs was not necessary if the manual laborer and domestic servants worked in honest and improved conditions.

The *Pilot* opposed violent riots, but it also supported the laborer in his quest for a just work environment. The circumstances of the laborer were exceedingly dangerous in mines and at railroad constructions and O'Hanlon also warned immigrants that "exposure to the perils of these jobs may bring illness."<sup>24</sup> Not surprisingly, labor riots demanding better work conditions and higher wages were common among Irish-American laborers, who struggled with illness, high death rates, poverty, and the breakdown of the traditional Catholic family. They formed unions, became vocal about their complaints and were using violence as a means of achieving better work conditions as early as the 1830s (Kenny *The American Irish* 65). In 1851, the *Pilot* publishes an article mentioning that the laborers on the Rutland and Kennebec Railroad are receiving 65 cents a day, but they are demanding more because of the longer work hours in the winter. The *Pilot* believes that the laborer should be able to get "at least a dollar a day," and instructs them to behave in an orderly manner: "Our advice to the laborers is--do not commit any outrage--do not drink rum--if you can procure employment elsewhere, do so.--But above all. Remember the advice of the great O'CONNELL--'He who commits a crime gives strength to



the enemy.”<sup>25</sup> The paper repeats these two advices—abstention from violence and alcohol—frequently with the aim of prompting laborers to refrain from manners associated with the caricatured Irish image mentioned earlier. The series of “Practical Lessons” offers more advice to the immigrant on these subjects considering their well-being in connection with a life style that is more acceptable to Protestant Americans.

The newspaper was a convenient space for teaching the laborer the necessity of complying with the rules of this new country in order to improve their condition. Thus, printed material emerged as a didactic force, for people expected “that working-class readers would ‘get along better’ by reading the books that would make them better workers, learning to extract information from technical manuals and to draw inspiration from model biographies, the Bible, and tracts on good behavior” (Fabian 304). The *Pilot*’s guidance policy worked in the same way as these didactic books, guides, and manuals, since the paper’s efforts were organized to enhance the condition of its readers, comprised of Irish immigrants and Irish-Americans, the majority of whom belonged to the ranks of the laboring class. In order to make progress, these immigrants needed to follow the authority of the employer and avoid strikes. As historian Peter Way states in his article on canal workers of the first half of the nineteenth century, employers usually tended to avoid violence “as it interrupted construction, scattered workers, hurt the public image of the canals, and drove up costs” (1421). Therefore, the *Pilot*’s suggestion to the immigrant to abstain from violence in the workplace also works to protect the interests of employers. However, it did not suggest that the immigrant should adopt an all-passive attitude towards the injustices encountered in their labor environment. Rather, the *Pilot* supported the peaceful labor riots that did not harm the employer, and the nonviolent Irish image it wanted to create. The author of “Practical Lessons” also argues that, “the newspaper is one of the greatest engines for good and

evil purposes,” and that “newspapers govern the United States.”<sup>26</sup> The importance attributed to newspapers in the mid-nineteenth century is apparent from these words; nevertheless, the author concludes that the Irish still need to make progress in their use of the newspaper for their own good. The newspaper, that is to say, is the avenue for self-improvement as well as community advancement, and it is the duty of the Irish laborer to use it for these purposes. As a result of the *Pilot*’s self-improvement rhetoric, the Irish laborer was encouraged to demand justice when justice was due but strikes and violent riots were not an option for the Irish in this process.

The *Pilot*’s advertisement column offered job advertisements for people looking for an employer, as well as for employers looking for laborers. For example, in 1851 repeated advertisements in big bold font asked for “500 laborers” to work “on the Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad” for a dollar a day.<sup>27</sup> Many similar examples were featured over the years, calling for laborers to work on various railroads, and they show the need for manual laborers in the process. This suggests that for the laborer the *Pilot* also became the place to search for capital through its advertisement columns. Advertisements for large numbers of laborers is not limited to the 1850s, for the 1860s witnesses a call for an even higher number of laborers. During the Civil War, the *Pilot* asks the Irish at home to consider emigrating to America to fulfill the need for laborers, stating that at least 800,000 laborers went to fight in the Civil War, and that the country needs a million immigrants to take their place. Irish immigrants are encouraged to avoid immigrating to Canada and to proceed directly to the States for “here there is citizenship and employment for all.”<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, articles on the want of a fresh supply of laborers were soon replaced by articles directing laborers crowding in big cities to the West, arguing “the cities are overrun; thronged with candidates for labor; and the new comer is elbowed aside by those who were here before him” reducing the wages of each other.<sup>29</sup> The West offers the chance of

prosperity for the immigrant for “there is room, this moment, in the agricultural States of the Union, for one million hands.”<sup>30</sup> As is seen, the *Pilot*’s guidance rhetoric changes and evolves according to the prevailing circumstances of the laborer in an ever-developing economic mechanism.

A look at the nativism and the stereotypical caricaturizations of the Irish in American print media during this period makes it easier to understand the *Pilot*’s continued efforts to justify the Irish-American and the immigrant. The editorials and other print materials analyzed in relation to the paper’s response to nativist attacks before and after serialization of “Practical Lessons” show how deeply embedded these prejudices were in American society. In the next section, I examine how “Practical Lessons” draws the attention of Irish immigrants to the prerequisites of the labor market for a successful launch to their new lives in the States and guides them towards an Irish-American identity that would break down the prejudices of Americans and earn their favor on many levels.

### **Lessons for the Laborer: Acknowledging and Defending the Irish-American Labor Force**

The *Pilot* published “Practical Lessons for Working Classes,” starting in 1854 and continued the publication of this series until April 1855. The publication of such a guide was necessary because immigration from Ireland had been in such large numbers and the newcomers were poverty-stricken and subjected to the discrimination of Know-Nothings. Similarly to O’Hanlon, the author of the series says that American society deprecates the Irish immigrant, and it is vital for the immigrant to learn this fact as the “most essential kind of American education.”<sup>31</sup> Advice given in this series is on a wide range of topics, from the preservation of certain Irish traits to the adaptation of some Irish characteristics to enable the immigrants to prosper in this new habitus.

The author of the series is anonymous, but the *Pilot* mentions that he is “one of the hardest working Irishmen in the country and one, too, who has by his industry and skill, raised himself to a proud position in this country.”<sup>32</sup> The paper reminds the reader that, “these are the lessons we wish our people to study and practice,”<sup>33</sup> highlighting the educational and guidance value of the series. In a later number of the paper, a short advertisement piece on “Practical Lessons” advises readers to “read the lessons and learn,”<sup>34</sup> on account of the good status of its author among Irish-Americans and the worth of the wisdom he shares with the readers.

The author of “Practical Lessons” believes that British oppression in Ireland sets the foundation for the poverty and drudgery experienced by the Irish both in Ireland and the United States. According to the author, “it is too true that the power and influence of England, through her money and press, do much to prejudice the American mind against the Irish.”<sup>35</sup> Aware of the use of media in the expansion of the caricatured Irish stereotypes and their expanded influence on Irish immigrants as well as settled Irish-Americans, the author criticizes the British authorities. The author expresses strong dislike for their oppressors in Ireland and urges the Irish immigrants to avoid getting into similarly oppressive conditions in the US. He recommends to Irish immigrants sobriety, preservation of the Catholic faith and awareness of their wages, which will help them defend themselves against the prejudices and accusations they face daily, “for the sake of the Irish character, and the good of the Irish people and the emigrant’s good.”<sup>36</sup> Therefore, the reformation of one Irish immigrant’s character turns into a cumulative gain since it helps to correct the image of the whole community.

The greatest issues with the Irish character as understood from “Practical Lessons,” and the caricatures mentioned in the previous section, are the temper and the drinking habits of the Irish immigrant. As a result, the series focuses on the changes the immigrant can make to alter

the stereotypes of the drunk and violent Irish “Paddy,” which puts the whole Irish race, both in Ireland and the States, both naturalized and immigrant, under the panoptical gaze of Protestant America. According to the author, alcohol causes an “indirect injury” to the laborer if it turns into a habit, because it impairs “man’s own efficiency,” on which success in America depends.<sup>37</sup> The author also mentions that drinking, just like dueling, is an unfortunate national habit passed down from the Irish aristocracy. He says that dueling is the cause of the violent Irish image, because as a result of it quarrelling became more common among the poor Irish. In order to eliminate the negative Irish stereotypes, the Irish immigrant needs to avoid anything that may taint his reputation as well as the reputation of the Irish community in general. Regardless of the accusations by Americans directed at the Irish, the latter thought the reason behind excess alcohol consumption was the moral decay in the States (Kibler 72). On the other hand, according to Diner, alcohol consumption was a result of the Famine, for “alcoholic beverages long provided them with an inexpensive source of calories that never spoiled” (*Hungering* 85). However, Protestant Americans used the Irish tradition of alcohol consumption against the Irish immigrants, labeling them “inherently predisposed to drunkenness” (Diner *Hungering* 141). Sobriety was essential in order to overcome prejudice against the Irish and to allow the Irish immigrant to pass the threshold of acceptance into a respectable social status.

In the following weeks, the series mentions that the immigrant needs to live within his means. Putting oneself into debt and being pretentious for the sake of passing as rich are not traits of the virtuous Irish immigrant, who would benefit from living a humble life. Even though the series advises the immigrants to pursue humbleness in their lives, the author states that Americans owe many a great debt to the Irish laborer, whose contributions to public works help the progress of the country. The *Pilot* dwells on the contributions of the Irish manual laborer to

the advancement of America, and in one instance, it publishes an article named “Hatred of Foreigner” derived from the *Worcester Palladium*. This article states that nativist hatred stems from the belief that the American laborer would receive higher wages if it were not for the competition caused by the Irish laborer. Asking why the “Yankees” are not perceived on public works, the author of the article from *Worcester Palladium* asks, “it is now, and has been for years, the daily complaint that there are no young Americans to perform this sort of service for the community; and if there are none, who is harmed if there is a body of Irishmen who are ready and willing to obtain their bread by hard service in those branches of labor which our native population seem quite willing to leave to them?”<sup>38</sup> This article justifies the Irish laborer, whose vast numbers working on public works fill the space left by American laborers. The *Pilot* considers the laborious efforts of the Irish working class an inevitable part of the American Republic’s progress, but the native-born population does not agree with the *Pilot* on this point. American sentiments see the Irish as ungrateful for what America has offered them. One of the most apparent fears of the *Pilot* is that native-born Americans hold this belief. In 1848, an American says of immigrants that “when they receive employment, and are well fed, are not they the first to insist on higher wages, in the cant language, to *strike*” [emphasis in the original] (Chickering 64). Chickering dwells on the question of the necessity of immigrant labor for the completion of public works in the United States. He argues that canals and railroads would have been done without immigrant labor, and the only loss to the country would be a few years of time in the making of them. His comments display the reasons behind the nativist anxiety as he suggests that foreigners do not share any nationalistic belonging to the United States, but are here only “to be partakers of the fruits derived from the institutions of our fathers” (Chickering 65). Chickering’s views show the kind of discourse the *Pilot* sought to negate, discourse that

minimized the contributions of Irish immigrant laborers to the improvement of the Republic and, furthermore, labeled them as ungrateful foreigners ready to strike.

The series “Practical Lessons,” like other material in the *Pilot*, continuously reminds readers of the contributions of their countrymen to the advancement and protection of the United States and also emphasizes the tendency of Americans to disregard them. According to these printed materials, the laborer provides more than just manual labor; s/he provides morals and new job opportunities by undertaking the hard work and as a result creating the environment for intellectual and technical vocations for native-born Americans. The author mentions in “Practical Lessons” that the rich and the educated would not be able to use their knowledge in an uncivilized nation. The author reports that, “the man of property in the United States is much indebted to the Irish emigrant” since the vital features for wealth in the outback of the country are the deficiencies of “population and labor,”<sup>39</sup> two things Irish immigrants are willing to provide. In the article “Immigrant Labor” derived from the *New York Tribune*, the *Pilot* presents the reluctance of the Americans to do manual labor. The quotation states that this reluctance is the reason behind the inclusion of immigrants in this process. It also notes that the finished product of these works, such as railroads, offer vocations of a higher grade, such as “conductors, engineers, or brakemen,” and highlights the value of this contribution by asking “does this give no employment as reward to native labor?”<sup>40</sup> The Irish laborer on the pages of the *Pilot* is the backbone of the growth not only of the American nation in economic terms, but also the American laborer. The arduous labor of the Irish working-class allows the native-born laborer to occupy more prestigious positions on the job market; thus, the Irish make new opportunities for the native-born by clearing the path for progress. Moreover, “Practical Lessons” states that a big portion of “American citizens owe the preservation of their lives and properties, to the brevity

and fidelity of Irish emigrants,” who died or were disabled during duty as firemen, or soldiers of the Mexican-American War.<sup>41</sup> In search of recognition and appreciation, the series suggests that the political and social prosperity of the country depends on the satisfaction of the laborer, since the working classes produce the needed habitus for the capital mechanisms to run.

The *Pilot* frequently publishes laborers’ letters and articles related to labor. This demonstrates the paper’s influence over Irish laborers as it prepares them for their work life in the US. The importance of the paper continues as ongoing correspondence with laborers in the field provides the paper with feedback helpful for its future policies, such as where to direct the newcomers, which jobs to advise, which railroads to avoid in order to prevent sickness, and so on. The *Pilot* publishes letters from railroad workers revealing the inhuman conditions they work in along different railroads. These letters sometimes act as guiding correspondence, leading new laborers to good contractors and warning them about the bad, sometimes advising them to stay away from certain contractors because of their deceptions, hard working conditions and low wages. The authors of those letters believe in the impact of the *Pilot*, as they most often highlight its large circulation in their cities. These letters also act as justification letters in explaining the reasons behind the riots, something for which the Irish laborers of the nineteenth-century have been criticized by American society. For instance, a laborer writing from Knightstown, Indiana, introduces his boss “Yankee Smith” as the reason behind the Centerville Railroad Riot for reducing the wages of workers, whereas another working on the Pacific Railroad points to the connections of many Irish laborers to the Roman Catholic Church as the source of misbehavior towards them. The second laborer states that he works in a slave state “but the slave is treated much better than the poor Irish,” whom they hope the *Pilot* will continue to defend in the years to come.<sup>42</sup> In early June of 1854, the *Pilot* publishes an article on the Pacific Railroad displaying



the outcomes of better work conditions, which according to the paper would increase the productivity of the laborers and the material gain of their employers. The paper states that the contractors are the cause of the slavish conditions on the railroads since they condemn laborers to starvation and backbreaking labor. The *Pilot* adds that these observations are gathered, “from statements we are daily receiving from the poor laborers,” and advises them to “not work on a railroad,” if they can secure employment at other places.<sup>43</sup> Even though the paper gives importance to the laborers’ pleas for better work conditions and publishes their letters, it also publishes controversial letters in order to vocalize the complaints about the morals of some laborers. After the publication of the article mentioned above, the *Pilot* receives a letter from a reader who refers to the unacceptable behavior of some laborers. The correspondent, signing with initials P.B., argues “those complaints come, no doubt, in many cases from men which have been discharged from the road for bad conduct, and who wish to vent their spleen by sweeping assertions against the whole road; thinking, from the great and praiseworthy interest you take in the cause of the Laborer, that you will publish their letters and thereby damage the name of the work.”<sup>44</sup> This letter is important because it stresses the importance of good conduct—sobriety and honest labor—to the character of the laborer and signals to the readers that the paper will not endure such behavior from Irish laborers.

### **“Practical Lessons”: Guiding the Laborer**

The series of “Practical Lessons” advises immigrant laborers on six main subjects. The first of these subjects is property ownership as a chance to gain a respectable position; the second is protection from Know-Nothings; the third is belonging to the nation and the Irish-American household; the fourth is the specifics of labor; the fifth one is sobriety and continued allegiance

to the Catholic Church; and the last and the most important of all is the education of the immigrant laborer, for it is only through education that s/he has the chance of upward mobility. The author assures the reader that as long as an immigrant laborer keeps by these rules, he will earn the chance to gain wealth and independence and to make an advantageous entry to American society without losing his Catholic values.

The subject of property covers a vast space in the *Pilot's* guides and editorials, and “Practical Lessons” continues the tradition of guiding the immigrant towards ownership and material success. The author of “Practical Lessons” recommends property ownership to immigrant laborers as it provides “the great unity of interest,” as well as “the weight of character it gives individually and collectively” to the possessor.<sup>45</sup> The association of property with manhood strengthens the idea of respectability that is associated with male authority. The author states that many Irish immigrants arrive at the ports of the United States generally without any kinds of property, which strips them of the manly respectability the patriarchal world offers to the man of wealth. However, the author says, “there is an imparted dignity in possession which raises the standard of manhood and of character.”<sup>46</sup> In order to further detail the conversation around this subject, the series also dwells on what kind of property will secure this kind of respectability for the immigrant and concludes that property the immigrant should strive to obtain, land and a house, is achievable within a period of a few years. The United States is presented as a country of prosperity and opportunity when mentioned in terms of ownership rights. The act of property ownership is advantageous on many levels, for “on such a little property, a small house could be built, and if the young man should be unmarried, and have either father, or mother, and both living, there they could have a home, and if he should have sisters in this country, earning their living they too would have a place to go to when they would

be out of employment.”<sup>47</sup> The house turns into a communal space benefitting and enjoyed by the rest of the “clan” and becomes the base for future prosperity. The author mentions how ownership of one’s own dwelling shows the outside world the self-sufficient character of the owner. Independence is the key for success, and “Practical Lessons” directs the immigrant towards a self-sustaining system, where the labor of a man elevates his surroundings and supports his family. The author introduces the notion that respect shown towards a man of property as a prerequisite element to seal his inclusion in society as an acknowledged member. In an act of disclaiming the transmitted inheritance among Irish and English aristocracies, the author states that the acquisition of property through one’s own labors is worth more:

when a man who has had no property, acquires some, by legal, honorable and honest means, and that too, by his own honest industry, there we might very properly and justly say, that such a man is really clothed with power, both legally and morally; for in the first instance, the law of property gives him consequence, as it ever and always will, and in the second, the manner in which it was acquired gives its possessor more moral weight than if he came by his property by inheritance.<sup>48</sup>

The acquisition of property through honest labor establishes the difference between the respectable Irish-American and the wealthy but—according to the author—morally bankrupt aristocracy at home. The conversation around the inheritance of the Irish aristocracy leads him to question the transmission of property in America. He warns prospective Irish immigrants not to sell their properties in order to come to America, since that would make parents dependent on their children’s labor in their adopted country. The immigrant family will become members of the labor force and owners of property if they follow the rules laid down by “Practical Lessons.”

However, the author warns the patriarch of the family to keep the title of the property under his name “as a safeguard and protection”<sup>49</sup> because, he argues, American-born or -raised children may be affected by American ways of living and acquire American habits. These habits are quite different from the traditional values of the Irish household, since the author mentions that the youth in America do not value familial authority and therefore disregard their duty of respect towards their elder parents.

Possession of some kind of property secures the immigrant the right to become a respectable member of the society, but it does not guarantee acceptance into American society by the native-born Americans. The *Pilot* continues its propaganda for naturalization during the publication of this series for fear immigrants may lose the right to become an American citizen. The paper says that no one will feel sorry for men who do not complete the process of naturalization when in a few years they may be “shut out from the privileges which they can now enjoy by merely asking for them.”<sup>50</sup> These fears are not without any foundation because of the rising nativist forces, and the power the Know-Nothing party gained at the elections. In an article quoted from the *New York Tribune*, the subject of native Americanism is presented to the reader as “a narrow and sectional patriotism,” maintaining “the primegeniture of first settlers” (sic).<sup>51</sup> The article mentions the leniency of young Americans towards mob violence and states that the foundations of America are far more divergent than those claimed by the nativists. American nationality, according to the article, “is a thing of ideas solely, and not a thing of races. [It] is neither English, nor Irish, nor Dutch, nor French; it is not Puritans or Cavalier; it is not North nor South; our nationality is our self-government, our system of popular liberty and equal law.”<sup>52</sup> By reprinting “America for Americans,” the *Pilot* demonstrates to its readers how inclusive American nationality is at its core and, moreover, that the Irish can become a member of this

country, for neither race nor religion takes a part of the process. In short, the article states that it is possible to become American without being native-born or having long-established ties to the country, and the paper shows its agreement of this statement by reprinting it without adding any commentary. And yet, this ideal inclusion is utopic, for the news and editorials point to the exact opposite of these statements.

“Practical Lessons” mentions the subject of Know-Nothingism with great care in order not to create any more tensions between the nativists and the Irish community. The series advises the Irish immigrant to follow the same course in their relations with the nativists, for the purpose of protection. The author mentions that the Know-Nothings are comprised of “a large number of desperate men privately banded together, for the avowed purpose of defeating the constitution and laws of the country under which they live.”<sup>53</sup> The statements of the author show that if the constitution and the republic are harmed, it will be by the hands of the Know-Nothings and not by the Irish Catholic. He warns Irish-Americans to keep a low profile in order not to provoke this secret organization, and the news articles the *Pilot* publishes clarify the necessity behind this statement. The *Pilot* seems optimistic about the “downfall” of the Know-Nothing Party, which “is based upon unsocial, anti-American and anti-Christian principles.”<sup>54</sup> However, the paper changes its attitude of underestimating the movement when Irish Catholics are harmed during nativist riots and lynchings. The paper relates the news of the attacks launched unjustly against Irish Catholics in Lawrence, Massachusetts,

A drunken American nailed the stars and stripes over his door, and then nailed two small sticks across each other, forming a cross, which he stuck up under the flag (the flag was union down, however) that aroused the young native blood. They could no longer endure it—tore it down—circulated the report that it was a

drunken Irishman who lived in the house—got up a procession—walked through the principal streets where the Irish live, hooting, shouting and yelling like so many demons, and finally attacked a number of houses in which the Irish lived, demolishing doors and windows.<sup>55</sup>

The paper follows up this incident in the next edition and reveals to its readers through a correspondent's letter that the culprit is "an American and a Protestant," and adds that "the nasty little *Wasp*, with its posse of lying correspondents"<sup>56</sup> reports for its own interest.<sup>57</sup> As for the reason behind the advice of "Practical Lessons" to Irish-Americans about maintaining a low profile, incidents are listed where even inoffensive Irishmen are attacked by nativists. To the dismay of the *Pilot*, less than a month after the report of the riot in Lawrence, an Irishman is thrown into deep water by some strangers shouting, "Let the d---d Paddy drown."<sup>58</sup> The *Pilot* states that this is only one example of many similar incidents that happen with the aim of disturbing the peace and causing harm to Irishmen. And they criticize the nativist media for blaming them for causing the trouble in an effort to create chaos, whereas the paper, and the lessons, advise the Irish to do the opposite. Moreover, the *Pilot* asks for empathy with a conciliatory tone, when it notes, "it would not be very pleasant to read in foreign papers 'No Yankees need apply,'"<sup>59</sup> in response to the emergence of 'No Irish Need Apply' signs at stores or on job advertisements. It, however, criticizes politicians for drafting bills that prevent pauper immigrants from entry to the United States on the grounds of being a burden on the State. This statement is a criticism of the contemporary upsurge in nativist hatred that blocks the immigrant laborer's access to job opportunities. In "Security Against Pauper Immigrants," the *Pilot* states that there are "professional paupers,"<sup>60</sup> who take advantage of the resources, but also says that

there are immigrants who became paupers for want of work; and who will offer their labor to the US if they are allowed to get jobs.

This growing division between the American and the Irish, and the hatred towards newcomers, diminished the Irish immigrant's sense of belonging to America. However, the *Pilot* shares no such sentiments, except for writing in a resentful tone on incidents of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic riots and actions. The *Pilot* intends to prevent any references to disloyalty or ingratitude by emphasizing in editorials the nationalistic belonging of Irish-Americans to their adopted country. The author of "Practical Lessons" maintains the same attitude and argues that "no o[t]her portion of the American foreign population appreciates more highly the liberties they enjoy than the Irish, or more thoroughly understands the institutions of the Republic, or would do more to defend and preserve them."<sup>61</sup> Notwithstanding the discrimination the Irish-American faces in their social milieu and in the labor market, the author claims that the Irish-American is still a part of the American nation. Furthermore, he urges his readers to attend to their patriotic duties at the cost of leaving their families behind, suggesting that such a separation is unthinkable in normal circumstances but that the Irish-American is ready to make the sacrifice for the good of his adopted country.<sup>62</sup> Irish-Americans are proud members of the American nation, for the prosperity for which they toiled for years, and "their most violent enemies will not deny their willingness and readiness to be at the call of the constituted authorities to defend it."<sup>63</sup>

The form of belonging stressed in "Practical Lessons" is not only national belonging. The author underlines the importance of keeping Irish familial values and of belonging to the Irish-American family. He draws the attention of the readers to important and successful Irishmen, who are known for their strong familial attachments. The author warns immigrants against domestic service for it "helps to break up the family," regardless of the gender of the laborer, and

leads to the loss of parental authority.<sup>64</sup> These lessons suggest that respect, present parents, good morals, and education will reward immigrant families. Irish-Americans, according to “Practical Lessons” can preserve their identity only as a community, and family is an essential element of this communal belonging. An immigrant who becomes successful in America is advised not to ignore his filial duties in taking care of his parents or sending money to them. The author also states that Irish immigrants in America continue these duties, and adds that, “facts like those ... go further to prove the good influence, often, but silently exercised, by the working Irish, for the good of society and the preservation of order and good government ... .”<sup>65</sup> The importance the author attributes to belonging both on national and familial levels suggests that it is important for the immigrant to acknowledge the value of the community and the shared experience. The family is at the forefront of this idea of belonging since the immigrant ‘feels at home’ among his own people and learns to tolerate membership of a community. Then the immigrant moves outside of his familiar and familial space, leaving his family behind in order to join a bigger community, made up of strangers. This second move is a big step, but it promotes Irish-American belonging to the American nation, so much so that the Irish-American is advised to leave his first core community for the defense of the latter.

When the author speaks of belonging, property and the avoidance of Know-Nothings, his subject is the laborer. The Irish-American and immigrant laborers form the group he refers to in his series of lessons, because the laborer is the producer of labor, and “labor is a business and ordinance of God.”<sup>66</sup> According to the author, one does not need to be clever to succeed in the industrial world; he needs, however, to act according to the needs of the labor market and perform his duties as a laborer in the best way possible. If he succeeds in America, then he can set an example to the newly arrived immigrant and ease the latter’s process of acculturation to



the labor market. The author notes that “it is really astonishing to witness all that one really industrious and sober Irish emigrant can do to infuse good, industrious, sober and frugal habits among his lately arrived countrymen.”<sup>67</sup> Notice the repetition of “industrious,” and “sober” in the sentence. This repetition leads the reader to acknowledge the cruciality of these two traits, the performance of which would both help to erase the drunken and lazy Irish stereotypes from nativist imagery and provide the immigrant with characteristics to launch a successful laboring career in the States. Sobriety and industriousness become the two most repeated essentials an Irish laborer should have in order to prosper in the States. Even the advertisements published in search of employees specify the traits of the laborers, with notes such as “the Subscriber wishes to employ men of steady habits and no other,”<sup>68</sup> putting more emphasis on the conduct of laborers at work sites. The author warns laborers against bad conduct, saying that, “if an emigrant begins life in his new home by forming bad acquaintances, by sp[en]ding his leisure hours from home, by neglecting his business and his family, he ought not to expect that such a course of conduct will lead to honor or independence ...”<sup>69</sup> In order to achieve success at work, an immigrant should have domestic happiness, according to these lessons. Time spent with family members, especially in teaching children that “labor is honorable, and if well and properly applied, leads to honor and distinction in America”,<sup>70</sup> has benefits not only for children but also for Ireland and America as the educated young minds will create a more efficient labor force for the use of both countries.

The laborers, mechanics, domestic servants, and farmers form the group of laboring-class the author addresses. Domestics are praised especially for their faithful nature and high moral values that help to improve the morals of American society. For instance, the author states that the decrease in the numbers of the mulatto population, which he deems as the result of moral

degradation, is the effect of Irish domestics inside American households.<sup>71</sup> In the same number, the author argues that Irish immigrants abstain from such scandals, even if they work in conditions that would lead them astray. The main warning in the reference to the decrease in mulatto population is its existence in the first place. The author refers to the mingling of races as a vice in the US, and the solution to it is the substitution of an Irish servant in each house instead of African-American domestics. The virtue of the Irish Catholic female servant is spectacular in the author's point of view, and he notes that, "we have always felt, as if those most excellent young women have not got credit for all the good that they perform."<sup>72</sup> Moreover, he states that the trials the female labor force goes through "from the time they leave the paternal roof in old Ireland, until they get settled in America," do not weaken their morality. They do not follow American girls and surrender to worldly possessions such as clothes or join the Women's Rights Movement, rejecting the boundaries of gender.<sup>73</sup> Irishmen in the States, whether as husbands or family, should therefore provide these Irish girls with a good home and comfort in America, something—again, "that can be done, by industry, sobriety and economy."<sup>74</sup>

The author glorifies agricultural work but reminds the reader that agriculture without commerce and manufacture cannot provide the immigrant with the necessary means of improvement by itself.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, he recommends that immigrants understand the basics of business, which he describes as a combination of commerce, manufacture and mechanics. The author also suggests New England as a venue of great opportunities in terms of manufacturing business. Even though the acquisition of land and property are essential for the success of the immigrant, he warns poor families first to work in the cities of the New England States, rather than moving directly to the agricultural towns of New England. This series offers the immigrant an understanding of the labor machinery in the US and informs the immigrant about how s/he

can survive it without being crushed between its wheels. It is distinct from O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" in the sense that it does not direct the immigrant to the West or to agricultural labor as hastily and willingly as O'Hanlon. Rather, the author states in the same number that the conditions of the laborer in the settled areas of New England are better than those in the agricultural towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut. According to these lessons, the hardships on the way to success should be endured like Americans, who overcome adversity, whereas the Irish feel defeated by their circumstances.<sup>76</sup>

However, the most visible attribution of "Practical Lessons" on the subject of labor is the improvement it tries to bring to the social status of the laborer and the awareness it raises about the conduct of the laborer. The author of the lessons summarizes this yearlong series in the long quotation below. He addresses "the lately arrived Irish emigrant," and says,

Mind your own business, and do all in your power to discharge faithfully, and with exactness, the duties appertaining to the place you fill, be that place either high or low, and if you do that, your chance of honor, fame and independence in old age ... will be much more, than if you live an indolent, careless, and factious life. Take a great interest in the welfare of those who employ you, and not only in them, but also in their families. Be faithful to the interest of your employers. Do just as well for them when they are absent as when they are present; and not only show a readiness to comply with all their just demands, but also to anticipate them in a friendly and good natured manner, and do all in your power to carry them out faithfully, and in such a way, as will be most satisfactory to those in authority; and to be sure and put the resolution before you, never [?] unlawfully, or clannishly, against your employers, or those in authority over you, for let people

say what they want to the contrary, a subordinate is very apt to come to disgrace, who is in war with his superiors; ...; but above all things avoid the grog-shop, and idle and dissolute company, and spend your leisure time at home and with your family.<sup>77</sup>

Once more, the author warns the laboring class against the dangers of alcohol consumption and idleness; repetition is an element of this author's rhetoric. The interesting element, on the other hand, is the big space he reserves for the satisfaction of employers. This paragraph portrays the employer/employee relationship on a client/server level where the satisfaction of the former matters the most. According to this paragraph, the laborer needs to accept the interests of his employer as his own interests, protecting the property and respecting the authority of his employer in the same way he performs his filial duties. The laborer needs to recognize the superiority of the employer and act accordingly, for upsetting those in authority harms the image of the Irish community in general. In order to avoid this, the immigrant must abstain from riots and acts of violence in his search for better means.

The immigrant's duty is to stay clear of mobs and riots; however, this duty is founded on a mutual interest relationship with the employer, who should provide material satisfaction to the laborer. The author notes that not only the government but also the wealthy portion of the society favors public order; meaning, they would both benefit from a contented working-class. Decrying the mobs, the author proceeds to mention that "in the history of the Irish in America we are not aware of one single instance, where they formed themselves into a mob, for the purpose of resisting the laws of their adopted country or destroying the property of their fellow citizens."<sup>78</sup> As before, the Irish are represented as an anti-violent community, a characterization that rejects all clichés about the Irish personality. The author clears the Irish as a whole race, and throughout

the history of their adopted country, from any mob violence related incidents, even though mobs formed by Irishmen were not unknown at the time. This selective exoneration of Irishmen in the US demonstrates the bias in the author's reflection on the history of his countrymen and casts a shadow over his depiction of the peaceful Irish. The *Pilot's* attitude on the subject does not differ much from the author of "Practical Lessons" on this subject, but the paper at least admits to Irish participation in mobs. Mob violence is associated with labor strikes<sup>79</sup> in general, and the *Pilot* warns "all men interested in strikes to take the following advice. Keep the peace. Avoid rioting. Respect the rights of others. Never appeal to brute force."<sup>80</sup> These admonishments are repeated numerous times in different series, editorials and news articles throughout the years, but this repetition shows the constancy of the *Pilot's* guidance policy.

One of the reasons for the Irish laborer's association with mob violence is alcohol consumption, and the author of "Practical Lessons," like O'Hanlon before him, strongly recommends the reader refrain from their drinking habits. Sobriety echoes throughout his lessons, and it is held up as one of the fundamental requisites for success. A news article published before July 4<sup>th</sup> reflects how this necessity is internalized by the paper and on what grounds. In the article that warns Irish people about the Know-Nothing designs to cast a shadow on the celebrations, the *Pilot* warns the immigrant to be on his guard and avoid drinking in case the nativists use violence and blame drunk Irishmen for the consequences of it, "if a riot takes place, they will be sure to suffer. They will be arrested and punished, while the real culprits will escape ..."<sup>81</sup> This sentence proves that the author believes the Irish are the underdog of the American nation and reflects his anxiety over the social, national and—in this instance—police discrimination against the Irish. A coping mechanism suggested to the Irish population in America is keeping a close relationship with the Catholic Church, and never letting material

influences sever the strong connection they have with their faith. In order to guarantee the continued fidelity to the Church, they should have Catholic men of religion as well as Catholic books and newspapers, because “in the absence of those great auxiliaries of religion, what was to keep alive the faith?”<sup>82</sup> In doing so, the author advises Irish-Americans to be in close proximity to a Roman Catholic Church and to purchase Catholic print media as a way of maintaining their faith among Protestants.

The last subject that the author of “Practical Lessons” dwells on is the vital necessity for the immigrant laborer to receive an education with the hope of improving his situation. The farmer, mechanic, and laborer will benefit from knowledge and the results of their learned wisdom.<sup>83</sup> Evening-schools are great places to start their education, instead of spending their leisure time socializing in the “grog shop.”<sup>84</sup> A laborer should not disregard religious education for the sake of educating himself on matters of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but should understand how these are mutually important for his prosperity.<sup>85</sup> One of the reasons behind the author’s strong recommendation on getting an education of some kind is the fact that education can be used for the greater good of humankind. The author notes that America is America because of the learned men, lawyers, professionals and literary men who “were the men who first called the attention of the farmers and mechanics, to the oppression and irresponsible tyranny of the mother country.”<sup>86</sup> The author impliedly links the likelihood of gaining Irish dependency from British rule with how Americans succeeded in freeing themselves from the tyranny of their ‘mother country’ with the help of education. Intelligence is the key point in preventing abuse and prejudice at home and abroad; moreover, he says that education liberates the man along with his people.<sup>87</sup> Educated men are so feared by tyrants that “in almost all cases, the conquerors will aim to destroy the literature of the people that they conquer.”<sup>88</sup> Know-Nothings are the mirror

images of the English oppressors the Irish faced at home, and fighting with them through education is a non-violent and cunning resolution to overcome the nativist tyrants, along with their prejudice and discrimination.

A person is bound to perform “the inferior duties of life,”<sup>89</sup> and work for people whose capacities are below his own unless he teaches himself enough to help him with his job. The author does not want Irish-Americans to content themselves with less when they can aim for higher positions, offices which will help them to proudly represent their countrymen in America:

There would be much more real merit due to an Irish laborer, who comes to this country without any education, to learn how to read, write, and keep accounts, and to be able to correspond with his friends at home, than the young man who receives a college education here and afterwards become a United States Senator, and this we think we can make the emigrant do, if he will read the *PILOT* attentively through the coming winter. [emphasis in the original]<sup>90</sup>

According to the author, a high station in life is achievable by following the instructions of the *Pilot* because the newspaper continues the tradition of spreading knowledge that is necessary for the immigrant’s uplift. In “Practical Lessons,” the *Pilot*’s self-advertisement catches the eye of the reader as the author makes references to the paper’s contributions and accessibility to the immigrant. The immigrant is encouraged to read books, which, “a few centuries ago, that would cost all a working man would earn in a long life, can now be bought at the *PILOT* office for a day’s wages, or less” [emphasis in the original].<sup>91</sup> The author advertises the *Pilot* not only as a didactic force essential for the immigrant’s development but also as an economical instrument in the expansion of knowledge. A letter sent by a reader named Charles A. Chance, states that newspapers expand man’s knowledge on the world around him by writing on a wide variety of

topics. Chance makes an interesting—and almost advertising—comment in the letter when he says, “and as they [club members] have been shown pretty clearly in the Lessons to the Working Classes, published weekly in your paper, the necessity of a little education, there is no better means of improving a young man in his reading, than, putting a good newspaper in his hands, as the subjects it contains are so varied in their nature, it creates a desire to proceed ...”<sup>92</sup> This correspondent’s input is important since it is characteristic of many other Irish-American letters published in the paper, talking about the importance of the guidance the paper provides in its printed materials.

The factual advice of “Practical Lessons,” and the *Pilot* for laborers resonates with some of the advice given earlier in “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide.” The acquisition of property, abstinence from alcohol, and continued fidelity to the Catholic Church are essential for the prosperity of the laborer. Education is presented as the enabler of social mobility as well as a means of familial bonding. The question of belonging to the American nation and respect towards American employers are presented as necessary traits to overcome the nativist approach. In the next section, I analyze Dorsey’s work “Dummie” in order to find out if parallelism exist between the two different genres, fiction and non-fiction, on the subject of labor and upward mobility of the Irish-American.

### **Dorsey’s “Dummie”: Excavating Labor from a Lost Work**

Anna H. Dorsey and the *Pilot* maintained a continued loyalty to each other with the paper publishing fourteen works by Dorsey in the period 1848 and 1860 (Callon).<sup>93</sup> In his extensive study on Dorsey, Callon states that even though the main readership of Dorsey consisted of children and women (17), her work for the *Pilot* “provided more than entertaining material,”



since “she lent this Irish and Catholic periodical a voice of steadfast respectability, one with important historical links to America’s founding families and with close contemporary ties to its Anglo-Protestant hegemony” (193). This statement is important for the analysis of “Dummie,” since—as I mentioned earlier in the chapter—the manual laborer is not a leading character but is replaced by men of higher status in this story, which is set during the War of 1812. Actually, the laborer in Dorsey’s “Dummie,” is not omitted but confronts the reader in a form that is not usually applied to the Irish immigrant, who is generally encountered as the poor immigrant laborer as in “Willy Burke.”

Dorsey’s work focuses on the past in an effort to prove the loyalty and valor of the Irish-American. The War of 1812 carried a revolutionary spirit as it aimed to close down the British and Spanish bases to free the New World from the influence of these two colonial countries. The war continued until 1815, but the summer of 1814 is the most important period of the war in the course of Dorsey’s novel, “Dummie.” In 1814, British forces landed in Chesapeake Bay and upon their entry to Washington burned government buildings, including the White House (Bailyn, et al. 278). Moreover, on their way to the White House, British forces set ablaze some of the private houses they encountered (Greenspan). In the story, the British Navy burns down General Barry’s house, setting the date and place of the story in Chesapeake Bay in 1814.

The story introduces the reader to the characters of General Barry, his granddaughter Eithne, her mother Mrs. Barry, Colonel Butler and his silent companion “Dummie.” The antagonist of the story is Admiral Cockburn, who represents the original Cockburn with his harsh-talks, a well-known trait of his. General Barry owns a number of slaves, and his house is the representation of a big old home for all its occupants. Dorsey introduces General Barry as the nemesis of Cockburn; an explanation necessary to understand the feud between the two men of

arms is later given to the reader. According to the narrator, General Barry is “a former subject of Great Britain, who has been in arms against her.”<sup>94</sup> As the story progresses, the reader learns that General Barry is of Irish descent, and that he regrets converting from Catholicism. Even though he is a convert lost to Protestant America, the reader does not dislike him, for he elevates Irishness through his military honors. Eithne is a rebel character; her mother even complains that she would not be surprised if Eithne “dons male attire and joins the army, before this war is over!”<sup>95</sup> Her bravery can be associated with the abundance of soldiers in her family; Eithne’s father and brother, both of whom were also soldiers, die fighting at an unknown time.

Colonel Butler is also of Irish descent and fights bravely against the British forces. His mute companion Dummie protects him from the dangers of the battlefield and also acts as a spy in the ranks of the unsuspecting British army. He walks freely among the British soldiers and gathers information, which he later ‘tells’ to Butler. I use ‘tell’ here because even though he is mute, he and Butler communicate perfectly. Furthermore, the fact that both General Barry and Colonel Butler are of Irish descent is suggestive of how these two Irishmen helped America to overthrow British forces and became free of their continuing effects as a result. Therefore, in similar fashion to the other analyzed content of the paper, Dorsey shows how Irishmen saved the most important value of the States, its freedom, during the War of 1812. Even though her story takes place in the past, it is meant to argue against her contemporary period’s nativist notions by demonstrating the contributions of the Irish to the protection of the Republic. The Irishman is not a foreigner, but already a member of the Irish-American community since “next to his dear old suffering land, an Irishman loves America—he will seal his allegiance with his blood—in war...”<sup>96</sup> The times are also different for “it was not then considered a crime to be of foreign descent, and the accident of man’s lineage or birth, did not ban him from the privileges of

citizenship, ...”<sup>97</sup> Dorsey declares the faithfulness of Irishmen during previous difficult times in order to criticize contemporary prejudice towards them.

After many unfortunate events, such as the harassing visits of the British forces to the house of General Barry, the burning of the house and Eithne’s capture by the British, the characters overcome the difficulties that kept them apart, and they manage to come together again. Eithne marries Colonel Butler, they visit Butler’s mother in Ireland, and upon their return to the US, Butler “had a voice in the councils of the nation, and as a Senator of the United States was always the first and most eloquent pleader for all that was constitutional and right.”<sup>98</sup> This information is derived from the legible parts of “Dummie,” but the rest of the story is lost to time. Due to the slimness of the available information, the data derived from the remaining text on the subject of labor and the laborer unfortunately does not provide the reader with as much material as “Willy Burke.” However, the material that remains of “Dummie” shows how Dorsey battles with the conventional fictional image of the Irish immigrant rising from rags to riches following the Famine immigration, and how instead she portrays the Irish-American as a settled race in the upper ranks of society in the early nineteenth-century. At the beginning of “Dummie,” the General, who only has one arm, states that he lost the other at Saratoga, and adds that if he had not lost his arm he would have shown the British forces that “an old Irishman could still strike a blow for the land of his adoption.”<sup>99</sup> This statement is important for two reasons: first, it highlights the contribution of the General in the Battle of Saratoga, fought in 1777, which was a turning point for the American Revolution. In highlighting this past contribution of General Barry, Dorsey accentuates the contribution of the Irish to the American Revolution at the same time, including them in the founding forces that labored for the freedom of the country. Second, by stating the enthusiasm of General Barry to fight in this war, too, she stresses the continued

allegiance and ties of affection of the Irish to their new country. Moreover, the General and his patriotic contribution to freeing the US from colonial influence, emphasizes Irish Catholic valor as a vigorous force for the political and economic gain of the American government. This statement is suggestive of anticipated respect from the nativist ranks at the time of “Dummie”’s publication, considering that this work is serialized under the disparaging fire of nativism. Similar to “Practical Lessons,” the belonging of the Irish—even in the early nineteenth-century—is mentioned in “Dummie” through the contributions of General Barry to American freedom.

The narrator highlights the wealth and power of the Barry family, which in fact was not unexpected, as the Irish who migrated to the country in the early nineteenth-century were mainly Protestant Irish and were skilled laborers. For instance, Mrs. Barry is a nurse, and therefore, her occupation diverges from that of domestic female servants of the mid-nineteenth century. Again, the legible part of the story reveals that she, too, like the General, changed her religion, and her acceptance into a vocation of higher status as a nurse may be a result of this conversion. In the case of General Barry, his conversion from the Catholic faith and his occupation as a soldier provided him with the prosperity he enjoyed before the burning of his house. Indeed, all of the Irishmen in the story are soldiers, unlike the unskilled laborers of the 1850s, which creates a high contrast between the conditions of contemporary laborers and the characters of Dorsey’s story. Dorsey implies that an Irishman has the chance to succeed in America as much as an American—as long as he abandons any allegiance to the Church. This, however, is not rewarded, for the General loses the material gain he acquired as a result of this conversion. In this sense, the preservation of faith is not the means of upward mobility as “Practical Lessons” and the other printed material in the *Pilot* argues. Dorsey, on the contrary, demonstrates in her work that the General and his family became successful without a formal connection to Catholicism. And yet,

for her characters, the Church—even defied—is a secretly continuing allegiance for the Irish. Throughout the story, General Barry makes references to Catholicism, and a reverse-conversion begins as he expresses regret in severing ties with the faith of his native country. At the end of “Dummie,” his conversion to Catholicism is complete, and “a chapel was built, and a Jesuit mission planted near”<sup>100</sup> the remains of the charred mansion, to which a new wing, symbolizing the new religious beginning of the General, is added. Even though Dorsey does not set Catholicism as the starting point for success, she shows that the Catholic faith is the necessary means to maintain that success. This may carry some biographical reflection of the author on the subject, since for her too Catholicism was not the starting point. But with her conversion from Protestantism and her continued fidelity to the faith she found later, success is painted as an achievable goal. Dorsey’s view as a convert differs from the *Pilot* on this subject, but she depicts the property-owner General as the picture of a self-reliant man. Dorsey describes his mansion in intricate detail. The stress she puts on the description of the pillars, windows, the lawn—the rich architectural characteristics of the mansion—highlights its value and reminds us of the character property attributes to its owner as mentioned in “Practical Lessons.” Another similarity with “Practical Lessons,” is the absence of the drunk Irish image from “Dummie.” Dorsey pictures the men of the story drinking in their social gatherings, but excessive behavior or drunkenness are not apparent in their milieu, an act by which Dorsey, similar to “Practical Lessons” and the *Pilot*, demonstrates that sobriety is a trait of successful men.

The black people in the story are introduced as slaves belonging to a paternal space. These slaves labor not only as domestics but also as defenders of the Barry family and offer their labor for the protection of the old General and his family. When the frenzied British soldiers kill some of the slaves, General Barry laments their loss by saying, “your old master respected your

worth.”<sup>101</sup> He is the patriarch of the house and is portrayed as treating his slaves as family. Mrs. Barry is represented as a maternal figure, who cared for the killed slaves in their childhood and provided them with “a calm motherly hand”<sup>102</sup> both in their childhood and at their graves. Their inclusion in the Barry family as domestics demonstrates the high status of property-owning, wealthy Irish people of the early nineteenth-century. It also shows how the Irish viewed slavery as benevolent paternalism rather than as an inhuman act. This paternalism is also reminiscent of O’Hanlon’s “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide,” in an instalment in which he says that “if circumstances place coloured servants, who are slaves, under the authority of a Catholic master, the latter is strictly bound to treat them with justice and humanity, to have them well clothed, well fed, comfortably lodged, and religiously instructed.”<sup>103</sup> This normalization of the institution of slavery is reflective of the Irish view on the bondage of the black man, and the representation of the successful Barry family as benevolent and paternal slaveholders highlights both their higher economic and social standing as well as distinguishing this Irish family as white as early as 1814.

Although not laborers, the representation of the Irish as soldiers of higher rank and as senators suggests that Dorsey wants to picture a different Irishman, an Irishman that is not bound to work at manual jobs, an Irishman for whom progress in labor is available through his efforts, an Irishman who contributed to the establishment and preservation of the United States, an Irishman that managed to obtain all these traits and success long before the nativists accused them of being drunken, lazy, anti-assimilationist immigrants. Therefore, in the absence of manual laborers lies Dorsey’s desire to present a world to the ordinary Irishman to which he can aspire and of which he can become a member. The lapse in time, the ebb and flow that takes the reader back to early nineteenth-century and then leads him again to the mid-nineteenth century,

guides the laborer to question his position in society by accentuating the vast difference between his social status and that of the characters in “Dummie.”

The *Pilot* follows a strategic agenda when it comes to guiding the Irish immigrant towards the ranks of respected and economically secure Irish-Americans. The material published in the paper during the publication of “Practical Lessons” and “Dummie” shows that the cause of the laborer is a factor that cannot be disregarded. In a reader’s letter written by a Barnard Smith on nativism and the contribution of the Irish to the American Revolution, he mentions that their efforts as founders of the country are dismissed. He also states that in this chaotic environment under the shadow of nativism, the readers “are unwilling to launch [their] frail bark another year on the tempest-tossed world without taking on board the good old PILOT to steer us safe through the quicksands of know-nothingism and infidelity ...” (sic) [emphasis in the original].<sup>104</sup> Indeed, with an immigrant laborer population of such big numbers, the paper’s guidance of the labor force was inevitable and necessary. The last assessment of the immigrant laborer before his inclusion in the American nation was his efforts in saving the Union. And the *Pilot* was there to guide him along that process, too.

## **Chapter IV: “What are the Irish Catholics fighting for?”<sup>1</sup> : Guiding the Irish-American Citizen**

In 1862, the Adopted Citizens’ Association resolved after a meeting that they would offer their services “to restore the Federal Union to its pristine lustre and maintain the Constitution as transmitted to us from our political progenitors; notwithstanding our long and unnecessary ill-treatment in this State-in the sense of being studiously denied equal rights and privileges with our fellow citizens of native birth” (sic).<sup>2</sup> This statement reflected the general resentment of the Irish as they were called up to fight for the country where they were discriminated against. Nevertheless, approximately 144,000 Irish served in the Union ranks during the Civil War, forming the highest participation among ethnic groups in the Union Navy at 20.4 per cent, with the hope of elevating the status of their people (O’Grady 47, Bennett 235). The *Pilot*, too, supported the Union cause, regardless of its discontent with abolitionism; but when it felt that the efforts of Irish-Americans were minimized, it resolved to write its own history of Irish-American valor and thus create an archive.

In the hands of mankind, history becomes susceptible to transformation into a misleading power. The power to create a historical artifact through the means of script, erasure, and application of selective memory leads history makers to create an archive in the service of hegemonical institutions. These institutions vary from state institutions to museums, from print culture to oral traditions. This archive serves the needs of the hegemony by guiding the history reader/learner to view the past in the way the power holders of these institutions have shaped it. The power of official history is a question of credibility, a question that is shaped by many



different variables of an algorithm, a question seeking the answer to how one creates an archive that is true to alternative experiences and views of the past.

The US Civil War was a turning point for the *Pilot*, which minimized its formerly dominant religious concerns in favor of becoming an instrument to prove the loyalty of Irish citizens to the Union. “Records of Irish-American Patriotism” was published weekly from 1862 to 1866<sup>3</sup>, documenting the heroic acts of the Irish Brigade and Irish-American soldiers, creating an alternative archive of its own, a collection of memories proving the entrenched attachment of the Irish to the American nationality. Michael Hennessy (Laffan),<sup>4</sup> the author of this series, says that by publishing this column about patriotic Irish-American soldiers “much good can be done for our race.”<sup>5</sup> Laffan’s column basically consists of three different parts. He opens the column with a letter to the editor, and proceeds to corresponding news articles published in other newspapers. Lastly, he dedicates a part of this column to narrate the lives of prominent Irish-American soldiers and includes letters from soldiers. Laffan’s column is like a scrapbook, where he collects every news article and information related to the efforts of Irish-American soldiers in the Civil War. With the publication of this series, Laffan established a memory of patriotic Irish-Americans whose sacrifices contributed to the Union cause. In order to illustrate how the *Pilot* regulated the creation of an American identity and a patriotic memory of the Civil War, I also look at two examples of serialized fiction. “Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade”<sup>6</sup> was written by Captain Murphy Maguire and serialized in the *Pilot* in 1862. Two years later in 1864, another work of fiction of the same genre appeared anonymously in the *Pilot*. Like “Rosa Gaery,” “Nora McIvor; or, the Heroine of Fredericksburg, A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War”<sup>7</sup> focused on Irish soldiers fighting in the American Civil War. I analyze the fortification of the Irish-American identity with military service, Union loyalty and patriotic

expression by bringing together the patriotic fictional material with the factual self-assertion of Irish patriotism in the Civil War, as represented in the *Pilot* and Laffan's column.<sup>8</sup> As I look into the factual and fictional material, I will also unravel how the *Pilot* developed a racially motivated lexicon over the course of the Civil War, an act that influenced its readers and their perception of African-Americans.

During the course of the Civil War, the *Pilot's* discourse encouraged Irish immigrants to embrace the Union cause as a way to prove their loyalty to the American nation and its values (L. Rhodes 98). Therefore, the question of nationalism evolved into a battle of belonging to the American community through these issues. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Eric Hobsbawm states that national identification "can change and shift in time" (11), and this argument suggests that there are no fixed national identities. In order to tease the concept of fixed and adapting identities, I will demonstrate how emerging constructions of national identity under the pressure of the Civil War permeate material presented both as factual and fictive and advance the notion of belonging to Irish and American identities. I will focus on the transition and balance between the Irish immigrant's two national identities as represented in the nationalist discourse of the newspaper during the Civil War and its attempts to direct Irish-Americans toward this new chance to prove their worth as citizens. I will also bring the Draft Riots into the discussion to further examine racial lines and the transition of the Irish to whiteness. The importance of archival creation, and the *Pilot's* role as an alternative archive to the State archives, is analyzed to further understand the politics behind the Irish-American paper's formation of a commemorative site for its countrymen. The emancipation, along with the creation of racial discourse and the articulation of whiteness, further support the *Pilot's* role as an alternative archive because it is through the authority of whiteness that the *Pilot* attains its powerful voice in

establishing a counter-archive to nativist amnesia. By the end of this chapter, I aim to answer questions about the *Pilot's* attempts to create the image of loyal Irish-American citizens and to highlight the worth of the Irish as soldiers and citizens by creating a site of commemoration for them on its pages.

### **A Matter of Forgetting and Remembering: The Archive**

State archives and nativist archives tend to leave out the misdeeds of the state and distort its failures. Since it is an act of creating a bright past behind the cabinets of museums, one must remember that creating an archive is a fragile act of applying collective and selective memories. What one decides to leave out or include in this creation shows the nature of the archive. The power holders draw up the guidelines of remembering and forgetting in these archives, by demonstrating the chosen memories and incidents that in fact do not reflect the whole truth, but only an exclusive selection of it. However, as Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi asks “Is it possible that the antonym of ‘forgetting’ is not ‘remembering’, but justice?” (117). The question of credibility evolves into the question of doing justice to history. What is or needs to be forgotten is discounted from historical memory. The archive is partially deceptive in nature, but nevertheless, as the authority of remembrance it requires to be recognized as an omniscient source. Forgetting is another type of omission for it intentionally or unintentionally omits certain remembrances from the archival entity. This causes a break in the wholeness of the archive and so makes the expectation of justice from the archive unattainable.

In the Webster Dictionary published in 1853, the word ‘archives’ is described as “records; a place used for records” (30). In general, an archive in mid-nineteenth century concerned recording and housing. However, the contemporary meaning of the word adds the

archive's selective nature onto the previous definitions, by defining it as "a collection of historical records relating to a place, organization, or family" (Cambridge Online Dictionary). The archive offers an environment to the researcher to gather data that is both new and old. The data is new because of its recent accessibility to the analytical eye of the researcher or the archivist. The data, at the same time, is old, for it is a remittance of the past, a recording found worthy of preservation, a measure of its own time. Therefore, there are two ways to analyze the data. The researcher can either accept it in its old form, as part of the history, and record the contents of the archive. Or the researcher can decipher the data by challenging its authority. This makes the archive "a centre of interpretation" (Osborne 52). In this chapter, I try to use both of these approaches. On the one hand, the data offered by the *Pilot* is a part of the history, and therefore I accept it as such. On the other hand, I am aware of the possible manipulations that might have taken place in the publication of the news, which leads me to interpret the published news articles as formation of an alternative history.

The archive is generally associated with the sovereign power and its governmental authority over the formation of an official history of the state. This official history acts as the uniting connection for members of the nation, under which they form a whole by accepting the given past of the state. As sociologist Mike Featherstone states, the sovereign owns the power of relocating and reorganizing the archives of the less privileged groups, and also the sovereign gathers "the archivists and scholars who operate with their own dominant classifications and value hierarchies to produce their own official history" (592). History writing, as a result, is an unnatural process; it is based on the events that enhance the nationalistic rhetoric that depicts the valiant and just past of a state. It is very rare for states to acknowledge holocausts, genocides, and unfair political interventions in the domestic affairs of less powerful countries or groups,

because the history—including the contemporary history—is recorded to prove the sine qua non existence of the sovereign above the less-privileged. Therefore, the material available for research may already be a construction, representing the governmental authority within the archive. However, archives also offer “a surplus of materials which enable adversary readings” (Lynch 79). In this chapter, I will look at the *Pilot* archives from the Civil War, to engage in the adversary reading it provides, since the paper strongly believed in the exterminating effects of the native press regarding Irish participation in the Civil War. Therefore, I will search the ways in which the *Pilot* used the archiving of the heroic acts of Irish-Americans during the Civil War as a means of establishing an alternative to the amnesiac memory of the white hegemony. These collections shape the archive, its content and its narrative.

An institution with its very own systems of remembering, forgetting, memorizing and presenting, the *Pilot* directly and indirectly aimed to shape an identity for the Irish community in the States. Parallel to many alternative systems of archiving, the *Pilot* distrusted the archive of the hegemonic other and created an archival organization to avoid societal and historical amnesia, as this chapter will explain below. The problem with creating an archive in order to reinforce remembrance lies in its inclination to disregard the unrelated, or worse, to archive with perceptive selectivity in regards to the topic. The *Pilot*’s role as a paternal figure for the Irish, apart from offering them an “imagined community” under which they can unite, also lies in its institutional archiving of Irish history. The *Pilot* undertakes the role of the archivist and collects the history of the Irish in Ireland and the United States with the intention of protecting that valuable information. Thus, the paper acknowledges itself more powerful than the individual efforts and provides Irish-Americans with the paternal roof to gather and house their history. In addition to this, it demonstrates those histories of the Irish community in both countries with the

aim of proving the Irish to be a people representative of a proud history. The challenge lay in contrasting the everyday archives of nativist Americans such as newspapers, which disregarded, omitted or even erased the Irish from specific arenas of history.

It is relatively easy to manage state and nativist archives as they form and contain a great amount of structural, power-based and financial sources. But how does one manage an ethnic archive? Why the mistrust in the receiving culture's history-makers? But most importantly, why create an archive to prove the existence of a people long established in a country? At this point, it is safe to mention the institutional amnesia of the receiving culture in history making, an amnesia triggered by nationalistic feelings, conceding no debt to the other, reinforced by the strong desire to remain debtless to the foreigner in order to avoid fraternal responsibilities. If the other is different than the receiving culture on platforms regarding finance, race and religion, then the receiving culture holds the power to form ways to disregard the other's contributions. Though a delicate subject, an archive is a show of strength on both parts. It demonstrates that the receiving culture holds the power to shape the history that satisfies its interests; and yet it also shows that the other has the power to rise against the State-made or nativist archives of the receiving culture and create an archive of its own as an anarchic act of refusal.

Nevertheless, one must be very careful when using refusal against State powers and offices in the case of the *Pilot's* opposition, since such an act would mean challenging governmental authority—something the *Pilot* advised the Irish to abstain from. Indeed, the *Pilot* opposed American print culture that denied the Irish military honors. Seeing an archive created by the receiving culture's ideas of them, the *Pilot* toiled to form an ethnic archive for the Irish giving them the honorary status of defenders of the American Union, and white status as racial equals of native-born Americans. The resentment at being turned into an invisible asset of the

Civil War and being ranked below the African-American soldier in terms of courage and loyalty led the Irish-American paper to create an archive to prove otherwise. The credibility of their archive is also questionable, since their aim to prove the American nation wrong dominated their ethnic history formation. It is an archive of relativities and of hegemonic power structures even across the spectrum of ethnic groups. The *Pilot's* agenda in the formation of an alternative archive could not escape the same power relationship the paper resented. Since the Irish-American paper situated its people above the African-American, it distorted the black man's presence in the Civil War or even erased their presence in it in order to form the archive that would benefit them in the way they expected. However, I will rely on the paper's archival value as a part of print culture and reveal the elements of this archive.

This self-archive building anticipated raising a commemorative site on the pages of the newspaper. Interestingly, the archive building of the *Pilot* starts simultaneously with the Civil War. Aware of the native inclination to leave out or minimize the contributions of the Irish in the war, the *Pilot* does not wait to leave the war in the past to start an archive. Rather, their archive is an ongoing process created alongside the war. Therefore, it is not right to say that archiving is only related to the past. It has ties to the past in the sense that it claims it. Yet, it also secures the present, demonstrating an alternative history in the columns of the paper and in the minds of its readers. This act of reaching out to the readers--museum visitors--is different from the accepted course of being visited. The paper as an archive changes the museum/archive relation by omitting the rules of physical contact. Instead of having visitors observe its artifacts, it visits them in their familiar place, bringing the archival information into the home of the reader, thus removing the unfamiliar authority of the museum. Yet, it interacts with the reader in this non-museum and not-visitor equation of archival transmission through letters from readers. Indeed,

apart from the news, the archive of the *Pilot* is created collectively with the Irish and Irish-Americans who fought in the Civil War, or who held information on such people. Therefore, the ethnic archive is a collective effort. It does not dismiss the singular efforts of its members; on the contrary, it uses their input in becoming a whole. What the receiving culture aims to do by deconstructing ethnic culture, the ethnic group resists by its own construction of an alternative collective memory. The community avoids disintegration as a group while attempting to affiliate with the native community on a national level.

This archive is important because it shows that the Irish felt that their sacrifices were underrated and unappreciated. The resentment they felt springs from a deep fear that their men died anonymously, and that if it was not for the *Pilot* their names would be forgotten together with the sacrifices of the Irish race. The desire to create obituaries, making lists of the dead and wounded soldiers, giving letters and first-hand accounts of the war from Irish soldiers, is the equivalent of creating a memorial for their own heroism. The idea of not being acknowledged for their heroic deeds—and all this under the fire of Know-Nothings—the urge to prove their Americanness and loyalty to their adopted country, and most of all the inevitable desire to immortalize the names of the fallen in order that they are not forgotten led them to write their own history. For example, the resentment felt towards Americans on the subject of the percentage of Irish soldiers in the Union army was one of the recurring topics the newspaper wrote on. They objected to the declaration that Irish soldiers formed twelve per cent of the Union army. To this, the *Pilot* answered bitterly, expressing their conclusion that this was an attempt to steal the military honors of the Irish.<sup>9</sup> A reader openly states in a letter addressed to the proprietor of the *Pilot*, Patrick Donahoe, that the government is biased when it comes to the claims of the Irish Brigades and that there are hostile sentiments toward the Irish. He states



“[t]hat we fought bravely is all we claim,”<sup>10</sup> and moves on to say that the efforts of the Irish are underrated, because according to him the percentage of the Irish in the Union ranks is forty percent. While they work hard in the newspaper to prove that the Irish are an indispensable part of the Union army, the news articles published in nativist papers create a counter-archive and minimize their contributions to the Union cause. It is interesting to see the constant references to volunteering both in these articles and in columns. Even in the fictional works “Rosa Gaery” and “Nora McIvor,” all of the male heroes go to war as volunteers. The *Pilot* takes pride in the free-willed enlistments of the Irish and views it as more patriotic than being drafted. However, the Draft Riots complicated this situation, since the Irish rioted against the authorities, contradicting the *Pilot*’s guidance of obedience to state laws.

### **Seeking Justice: “Records of Irish-American Patriotism” as an Alternative Archive**

Before answering the question asked in the title of this chapter “What did the Catholic Irish fight for”, I will try to answer what they did not fight for. First of all, they did not fight to be underappreciated. Many Irish believed that fighting in the Union ranks would prove their loyalty to their adopted country and earn them respect, as well as lead to full acceptance into the American nation. Therefore, the print culture became an avenue for them to emphasize the contributions of their countrymen to the protection of their adopted country’s constitution. Irish-Americans, as Kerby Miller suggests, wanted to change the prejudice “that Irish Catholic immigrants constituted a dangerous, unassimilable, and permanent proletariat” (496). Therefore, one of the reasons the Irish Catholic fought in the Civil War was to change this prejudice by becoming a part of the war and so guaranteeing easier access to equal social and political rights.

In order to become a fraternal nation, they first had to become brothers in arms to display their identification with the American identity.

The second answer to the question is that the Irish Catholic did not fight to be forgotten. The *Pilot* stresses the contribution of Irish Catholics as volunteers; nevertheless, it also acknowledges that history will forget the role of the Irish in the Civil War, noting in “Catholics and the War” that “[h]istory will do us justice—but not contemporary history.”<sup>11</sup> Hence, one more reason for them to write their own history. One of the most influential efforts of the newspaper in this sense is the publication of Laffan’s “Records of Irish-American Patriotism,” which acted as a site of commemoration for the Irish brave in the Civil War. According to Laffan, this was an attempt to build an archive for Irish heroes in America. Laffan, believing that the written word signified more than the spoken word, called on Irish-Americans to help him create this archive in order that any heroes and heroic acts of their race were not forgotten. By giving accounts of the war’s proceedings, biographies of Irish officers, their letters, and most importantly by publishing lists of wounded and dead Irish soldiers, Laffan created an archive that would speak for the sacrifices of the Irish race on the continent when Americans forgot about their bravery. In the first of this series, he mentions that even though the Irish fought in the Revolutionary War, the only thing that is left of them are their names. This is problematic according to Laffan; “Hence, we are unable to show, by positive proof, how largely our people contributed to the establishment and advancement of the Republic.”<sup>12</sup> Therefore, similar to Dorsey’s “Dummie,” which tells the reader of General Barry’s contributions and sacrifices in the Revolutionary War, to remind nativists of the forgotten Irish valor, this column in essence raises a memorial and urges Irish-Americans to create, collect, save and establish an archive of the

deeds of Irish people to be used “when the authentic history of our race in America shall be diligently investigated and carefully written.”<sup>13</sup>

Laffan states that the Irish should be more active in proving the contributions of their race to the strength and independence of the States. His call to the Irish for unity in raising a memorial explains what the Irish should do and why:

Were Irish-Americans true to themselves, and alive to the necessities of their position, they would have a vigorous historical society in New York, with several co-operative societies throughout the country, diligently engaged in bringing together all the scattered memorials of the Irish race in America; all the evidences of our devotion to our adopted land--of our share in the great work of establishing its independence, and the still more important struggle for the preservation of its unity, as the source of its strength and prosperity.<sup>14</sup>

Laffan urges the Irish to stand up for what they contributed to the success of North America in war. Furthermore, he suggests the establishment of a historical society for the purpose of creating an archive. The collective effort in the formation of an archive is an essential deed for Laffan, since it will bring together the members of the Irish race, creating a communal feeling among them to further seal the fraternal bond. Acknowledging the place of the Irish in society as influential, he insists on using this influence in improving their social conditions and self-esteem.<sup>15</sup> Even though he views the Irish as a prominent aspect of the American nation, other papers do not publish the same information:

Some unfair calculator has published that the proportion of the Irish in the war in only *twelve per cent*. No man who has eyes and ears open can give credence to this. There is not a single regiment in the army in which Irishmen do not abound--

and a great many regiments are altogether Irish. The regiments in which they are least, they count twelve per cent. Our military honors cannot be taken from us by pilfering of this description. Without the Irish, the rebels would have seized many of our northern cities long since.<sup>16</sup>

While they worked hard in the newspaper to prove that the Irish were *a* significant part of the Union army, this kind of news working to minimize their contributions to the Union cause had the opposite effect. A letter from a reader, who signed under the penname ‘A CELT,’ labels the government and American people both as dismissing and deprecatory, because of their reluctance to acknowledge the role of the Irish in Union success. In this letter, the author states his gratitude to the US for providing the Irish race an asylum during difficult times; however, he criticizes the statement about the 12 per cent Irish participation in the army, which according to the author was forty per cent. In the letter, the author mentions the role of the Irish press in setting the record straight about these misstatements.<sup>17</sup> It is the wish of the author, Laffan and the *Pilot* that the majority will recognize their efforts. Laffan fought against this counter-archive, which undermined their efforts in creating an alternative one with the security and proof of the written word. However, Laffan is skeptical about the permanence of the oral ethnic archive as it is based on the spoken word and does not provide the assurance of the written word. The continuous call for collecting evidences of martial success is repeated vigorously in many issues, and moreover, it turns into a mission of rescue and of archeology. Laffan asks the readers “to endeavour to rescue from oblivion the names of all our brave countrymen engaged in the present war for the enforcement of our constitutional laws and the legitimate authority of our Government.”<sup>18</sup> Laffan’s call for Irish-Americans to excavate memories and names of the past is the work of the archeologist or the archivist. Since the information necessary for this alternative

archive needs to be excavated from memories of the heroism of ordinary Irish-Americans, entrusting in them the duty of excavation and collection of those memories is a logical move on Laffan's part in his search for sources. Accordingly, letters from readers poured in boasting about the heroism of Irish soldiers fighting in the ranks of the Union Army. In those letters, soldiers sent in the names of their courageous commanders and comrades to save those names from being forgotten.

In creating this archive with the help of their Irish-American community, Laffan and the *Pilot* also aimed to improve the socio-economic and national position of the Irish in the States. In this process, the *Pilot's* views on the place of the Irish-American citizen within mainstream society changes dramatically over the years following the start of the Civil War. In 1862, Laffan mentions that Irish-Americans are "a power in the land, felt and recognized," and he suggests that the Irish should work to continue that influence in order to gain social advancement and self-respect.<sup>19</sup> His views on the status of the Irish in the States show the improvement already made regarding their perception. The States is a place where the Irish can flourish economically and socially, and according to Laffan, if the Irish strive to further advance how they are perceived by the majority, then they will have the chance to stay in favor perpetually. Moreover, the following week an article named "Emigrants Wanted" appears in the *Pilot* that warns Irish immigrants not to consider Canada as a destination to build a life, and instead to prefer America saying that, "[h]ere there is citizenship and employment for all."<sup>20</sup> Like Laffan, the *Pilot* also thinks that America offers a better future for the Irish, and that it should be the destination of those aiming for success. Both Laffan and the *Pilot* suggest that America can provide the Irish with the necessary means to become legal members of it, unsuspecting any discrimination in the process.

By January 1864, however, their views on the condition of the Irish in America change drastically. They publish clippings from the editorials of nativist and abolitionist papers, objecting to them as they value the black man over the Irish and disregard their contributions to the Union. This leads the *Pilot* and Laffan to express disillusionment with America. In the editorial “The Irish in Massachusetts,” the *Pilot* states that the Irish have done well in America against all odds, when it is considered that “strangers in a strange land, with no home of comfort in which to find shelter and repose,--meeting with scant sympathy, that blessed influence which is to a wanderer on a foreign shore, like a refreshing and invigorating cordial--with no special charm upon any one, and only the general claim which a common humanity gave them.”<sup>21</sup> Now, the paper accuses America of not welcoming the Irish and being indifferent to their existence. This statement is the complete opposite of what the paper said two years ago as they wrote to encourage immigration to the States. After three years of participation in the war in large numbers, the Irish still feel a foreign and detached part of the country for which they fight. They mention that the war should have helped to change the way the Irish were perceived by the native-born Americans, for only that would “elevate and improve both races, establish stronger bonds of fraternal feeling, and be productive of permanent good to each.”<sup>22</sup> Regardless of the disillusionment, Laffan continues to publish materials about Irish-American support for the Union cause. This shows that the formation of an alternative archive is a consistent endeavor that cannot be disheartened by the inhospitable attitude of the receiving culture.

The *Pilot* thanks Laffan for informing people of the service the Irish Catholic offered to the States prior to the publication of the last edition of the “Records of Irish-American Patriotism.” In the editorial, the *Pilot* states that “[w]ithout his researches, we should be in the dark in relation to the glorious achievements of our race; and our brethren of other nationalities

would have remained in ignorance of the services rendered to the Union by the Irish-American population.”<sup>23</sup> They put more emphasis on the chosen ignorance of the native and immigrant others, implying that the archival research was imperative for the recognition of their sacrifices. Laffan’s column was highly successful since it reached many readers and enhanced their knowledge of war-related incidents and personal narratives. Laffan collected and published correspondence from numerous soldiers, and the first-hand experiences of the soldiers further led to appreciation of the alternative archive as a collective effort. Due to the success achieved by the “Records of Irish-American Patriotism,” the *Pilot* decided to publish a new series under the same title. Therefore, the paper and Laffan proceeded to create a new division to their alternative archive with the end of the war. The new series of the column is announced as “a collection of authentic sketches of eminent men of our race” since colonial times, and Laffan notes that this new collection will act as “proof undisputable” respecting their services to America.<sup>24</sup> He also stresses the need of an archive in this area since the subject of the illustrious Irish in America is a “almost wholly neglected field of historical research.”<sup>25</sup>

### **Nationalism in Fiction: “Rosa Gaery” and “Nora McIvor”**

The years 1861 and 1862 bore witness to two great defeats of the Union Army; one was the Siege of Lexington and the other was the defeat at Fredericksburg. The two fictional works I will look at in this chapter are examples of the efforts of the Irish-American soldiers who took up arms to show Irish valor. In “Rosa Gaery,” the setting of the story is Lexington and the story is focused on the First Battle of Lexington that resulted with the surrender of Colonel Mulligan and his troops in September 1861. The setting of “Nora McIvor,” the second work I will analyze in this chapter, is the battle of Fredericksburg that took place in December 1862 and ended with the

defeat of the Union army commanded by Burnside. “Rosa Gaery” was serialized in 1862, just a year after the Lexington siege.<sup>26</sup> Its author is mentioned as Captain Murphy Maguire, which was most likely a penname. “Nora McIvor” was serialized in 1864,<sup>27</sup> but the story itself starts on December 10, 1862, a few days before the defeat at Fredericksburg, and yet for the sake of the back story, the author gives November 1862 as the starting point for the story. “Rosa Gaery” is published before the Emancipation Proclamation, which was issued in 1863, and “Nora McIvor” is published a year after the Proclamation. These two fictions are very similar in plot and theme; however, there is a significant change in their employment of language regarding the Civil War. The Emancipation Proclamation plays a critical role in this change because of the animosity it evoked in the hearts of Irish-Americans. It is also important to look at them both for they focus on the two biggest defeats of Irish-Americans in the Civil War. It is enlightening to see how the response of the paper’s fiction to the idea of defeat develops throughout the period between 1862 and 1864.

Although the *Pilot*’s reports of the First Battle of Lexington expressed confidence in the Union forces during September, with the beginning of October, the paper announced the surrender with regret. Pages with long reports of the battle, letters and reports mentioned how bravely Colonel Mulligan and the Irish Brigade fought, deserving recognition for their Irish-American heroism. Accordingly, a reader’s letter includes a news clipping from the *St. Louis Evening News* for “[i]t gives the true statement of the surrender, and places Col. Mulligan and his noble band of nine hundred—all Irish-American citizens—in the same category with the gallant 69<sup>th</sup> for heroic conduct as unflinching soldiers and true warriors.”<sup>28</sup> Even though the First Battle of Lexington ended with the surrender of the Union forces, the *Pilot* did not hold the Irish soldiers and their commander responsible for it. On the contrary, they took pride in the bravery



of their soldiers under harsh conditions presented in that battle. On December 27, 1862, the *Pilot* announced the defeat at Fredericksburg. The toll of the dead and wounded is given as 15,000; the dead are estimated to be around 5,000. The loss of the Irish Brigade and the heroism of the Irish soldiers are mentioned briefly in the news reported by a correspondent. In his column, Laffan announces the defeat as “deplorable,” and blames the Secretary, General-in-Chief and indirectly the President of “making such terrible havoc of the resources of the nation—dissipating its energies, distracting its citizens, violating its laws, or, in a word, ruining the Republic.”<sup>29</sup> Laffan lists the heroic deeds of Irish-American soldiers of the Irish Brigade under General Meagher’s command, for “[s]uch heroism as this is peculiarly characteristic of the Irish soldier in every service.”<sup>30</sup> One of the greatest defeats of the Union army during the Civil War, the actual number of casualties at the Battle of Fredericksburg was around 13,000.<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to see that the two battles these two novels develop around depict defeat and surrender, when their aim is to highlight the military valor of Irish-Americans. Nevertheless, as the reader reads the novels, it becomes clear that these stories act as works of compensation with constant referrals made to the heroism of the Irish brigades and their generals.

The novels follow a plot that is similar when broken down into layers. The sequence of events and the details in the way they occur change; nevertheless, the authors follow a general outline. There are at least two close male friends, one of whom is involved romantically with the other’s sister. The heroes (Owen Fleming and Philip Cassidy) and the heroines (Rosa Gaery and Nora McIvor) have a lover’s quarrel, which ends in the heroines’ refusal to see the heroes as they take off for the battlefield. Heartbroken, the heroines set their mind into following the two male figures into the battlefield in order to apologize to them. A female figure, mother or close friend, tries to discourage the heroines from doing so, reminding them of the dangers of the battlefield

for a young woman. The heroines disguise themselves either in male attire or a Union soldier uniform in order to access the regiment of the heroes. At some point, the two heroines are in danger when either a man with Confederate inclinations or a soldier from the Confederate army is determined to marry them. Their identities are revealed before the brigade either surrenders or is defeated. Both couples get married before the two males go back to the army. Without fail, the Generals of both Irish brigades are praised for their heroic leadership, and then the reader is reminded of the victories and successes of the Irish soldiers in the army almost as an act of compensation for the Lexington siege and the defeat at Fredericksburg.

In more detail, Rosa Gaery, who is in a romantic relationship with Owen Fleming, argues with him because Doherty, the villain of the story, tricks her into believing that Owen is involved with another woman. She refuses to see him before he leaves to join Colonel Mulligan's Irish Brigade at Lexington. Rosa learns the truth behind the villain's deception, who in the meantime kills her father as he attempts to abduct her. The villain escapes with other criminal friends of his in order to join the Confederate army, his 'rebel' inclinations known to everyone living in the town. Rosa speaks with her mother about her intentions to seek out Owen for forgiveness. She also meets Owen's sister Louisa Fleming, who is having a relationship with Hugh Barrett, a friend and fellow soldier of Owen. She uses a disguise as a means to reach the Brigade, and when confronted with Owen she reveals her identity. Her active participation in the battlefield brings her the title 'lady of the brigade.' Owen returns to his military duty following their marriage. And even though this reads as a romantic story situated in the midst of a battle, it is nonetheless a heroic story telling about the difficulties the Irish soldiers had to endure during the siege. The story depicts life in the trenches, the difficult conditions the soldiers live in and the belief they have in their cause. Above all, Colonel Mulligan is depicted as a charismatic paternal

figure who “was everywhere in the thickest of the terrific conflict, exposing himself equally with the most dauntless soldier, and showing examples of bravery and courage, which told how much his heart was in the cause he had espoused.”<sup>32</sup>

“Rosa Gaery” starts very similarly to Laffan’s column, with an extensive description of the wars fought by the Irish soldier and examples of his bravery:

In America—‘the land of the free’—where Irishmen have found a welcome, a home, and a liberal government—the fame of the Irish soldier is as freely acknowledged as it has been nobly won; and America feels as proud of the names of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Thomas Lynch, Richard Montgomery and General Sullivan, of Revolutionary memory, and of Macomb, McDonough and Saileds at a later period, as she does of any of her native heroes.

In the present war, at Manassas, and at Lexington, Irishmen have shown to the world examples of bravery and daring and heroic courage, for which even *they* can scarcely find a parallel in modern history; and while chivalry and courage and true patriotism are remembered, the names of Corcoran and Meagher and Mulligan, and their noble compeers, cannot be forgotten.<sup>33</sup>

The author signals that this fictional work is yet another artifact of memory and a piece to be exhibited in the *Pilot*’s archive. This part of the introduction is important in the sense that it has three characteristics shared by other news and columns analyzed. First, he praises America, mentions its hospitality towards the Irish, creating a mother-child bond between the immigrant and his haven. He then brings up names from the past to prove the loyalty and beneficence of the Irish to their adopted land, with the aim of demonstrating that the Irish have been fulfilling their filial duties to their adopted land. Third and last, he delivers the subject of present contributions,

sacrifices, and the uniqueness of Irish bravery to strengthen the bond and guaranteeing a continuing beneficial relationship with America. And of course, the author presents the heroism that needs to be ‘remembered,’ and the names that should not be ‘forgotten’ for the sake of archival preservation.

One of these brave soldiers, Owen, wishes to enlist in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Regiment under Colonel Mulligan’s command. As Rosa, the heroine, and Louisa, Owen’s sister and Rosa’s close friend, discusses the subject of his enlistment into the Irish Brigade, the patriotic feelings of the two women surface. However, their dialogue also shows that no matter how much the Irish desire to fight for America, they are still a detached part of the rest of the community. For instance, Louisa prefers her brother to be “in a regiment of his own countrymen than have him fight among strangers.”<sup>34</sup> The strangers in this sentence may either refer to native-born Americans or soldiers of other ethnic and national backgrounds. In either case, the distrust of the Other, and the sensation of security among one’s own community dominate Louisa’s thought. This division between them and us later transforms into the division of North and South, and the lexicon of the story guides the reader to favor the Union over the Confederates.

The gender issue is a recurring theme in “Rosa Gaery.” The female character has evolved from the depiction of previous female characters. For instance, a news article named “Rights of Women” from 1851 sets an example of ideal womanhood for the period as it depicts a pistol duel between two Italian women in Florence, who have “unsexed themselves,” because of their men-like fashion and life style.<sup>35</sup> The article reads “[a] *real* heroine would not breathe the same air with a woman of the modern school of female Rights.”<sup>36</sup> Actually, the female characters of fiction published in the paper also show a drastic change over time. In fiction published in 1850, Biddy Burke, a devoted Catholic and the mother of Willy Burke, abstains from going out onto

the streets early in the morning for Early Mass, when the streets are dark. For that reason, Biddy “naturally disliking to traverse the streets alone at an unseasonable or unseemly hour” requires the company of Willy.<sup>37</sup> Biddy’s behavior reflects the values of true womanhood according to the *Pilot*’s moral preservation. However, the two heroines whom we encounter in 1862 and 1864 are complete opposites of ‘real heroines’ defined by the *Pilot*. Just as with the disliked Italian women in pantaloons, Rosa and Nora dress in men’s attire in order to gain access to the encampments. Moreover, they use guns, again like the Italian women, with the purpose of killing the enemy, which they do successfully. This huge leap in the development of the female characters demonstrates how the ideas embodied by the *Pilot* were also progressing in terms of womanhood. Nonetheless, it is not a drastically reformed womanhood since marriage at the end of both novels indicates that true happiness lay in the idealized version of accepted societal values set around gender roles.

When Rosa leaves her home for the battlefield, she is no longer under the protective roof of the domestic place, but outside in the male domain. Moreover, this ‘outside’ is even more of a male domain for it is where the war takes place. Liberation from the domestic place is not a complete detachment from male protection, though. When Rosa reaches the Brigade’s whereabouts, after crossing the Confederate lines in a boy’s attire, she asks to volunteer as a private soldier rather than a drummer or a fifer. Rosa’s boyish looks lead the Colonel to question her suitability for the war field, to which she protests saying that she has “the soul and the determination of a man.”<sup>38</sup> Her persistence gets her into the ranks of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Brigade under the name of Peter Gaery. However, in spite of her determination, her body in disguise is rejected as a suitable source of manpower. Because of her fragility, even her male character Peter ends up under the protection of Owen. And when her identity is revealed to him, Owen’s protective

instincts become even more prominent as he says, “[y]our arm is weak, and you are unskilled in the use of the bayonet.”<sup>39</sup> Owen fears that he may not be able to offer her protection equaling that of a domestic space and may end up causing her death. As the war progresses, Rosa continues to fight as Peter, which further complicates the protective comrade/lover relationship between them. For instance, when Owen is about to hold her around her waist, Rosa reminds him of her temporary male identity, upon which Owen realizes the implication. Rosa’s cross-dressing as a boy complicates the barrier between the sexual and gender identities she represents both as Peter and Rosa on the battlefield. As Streeby so intricately examines in *American Sensations*, the cross-dressing of women was also a common theme in story-papers and novels about the US-Mexican War. For instance, some Mexican women who “labored in the camps” are described as masculine and “unsettl[ing] the boundaries of gender” (Streeby 83). Similar to Rosa and Nora, these Mexican women blur the line between the settled gender identities, and the representation of their presence on the battlefield contradicts their so-called female “sensitivity.” However, in “Rosa Gaery”, even though Owen worries about Rosa’s presence on the battlefield, she actively engages in the war and kills Confederate soldiers, proving that she is not weak and in need of a guardian. In the concluding chapter, when Colonel Mulligan learns her true sex, Rosa becomes the Lady of the Brigade instead of the boy of the Brigade. When her patriotism is mentioned, Colonel Mulligan mentions how ‘romantic’ the war scene must have been for her. This attitude belittles her efforts as a soldier and labels her as a romantic character, minimizing the effect of her contributions. She, however, is a part of her surrounding, and even though she continues to be near the battlefield after her marriage to Owen, “she never saw fit to again don the soldier’s warlike garb.”<sup>40</sup> She, at last, becomes the ideal woman belonging to the domestic space.

The majority of the story depicts what the Irish soldiers manage to do under the difficult circumstances they are in. The author praises the small victories of the soldiers fighting under the Irish Brigade as a way to show that their efforts were not futile. The incidents of their bravery dishearten the Confederates, but it is not enough to prevent the siege. The author refers to the want of provisions, and lack of support as the reasons for the siege, saying that, “Colonel Mulligan, and his brave officers and soldiers, had done all that men could do; but without water and provisions, without the means of effecting further resistance, he could hold his position no longer, and finally 2700 Union troops surrendered to 28,000 rebels.”<sup>41</sup> This sentence functions as a waiver; it points the finger at others and defends Colonel Mulligan and his soldiers. The archives of the *Pilot* disclose whom the Irish-Americans viewed as the guilty party. Throughout the weeks following the siege of Lexington, the *Pilot* states that General John Charles Fremont, who was a politician besides being a Union general, was to blame for the siege for leaving the army at Lexington “undefended.”<sup>42</sup> It mentions that the surrender was not a result of the lack of courage to fight, but only of thirst since the Confederate army cut the access of the Union forces to the only water supply. The paper states “Col. Mulligan and his regiment have covered themselves with glory, while somebody somewhere is terribly guilty of a great wrong for not having reinforced him in time.”<sup>43</sup> The *Pilot* also publishes the telegraph sent to the President by General Fremont stating that reinforcements were sent but could not reach Colonel Mulligan in time. Regardless, the failure in sending timely reinforcements was seen as betrayal and neglect in the news articles, editorials and in the story of “Rosa Gaery.”

Nora McIvor’s story, although similar in plot, is much more intricate in her experiences with the Confederate army. This story also has two couples: Nora McIvor and Philip Cassidy, and Nora’s brother Peter McIvor and Eva Manning, her close friend. The lover’s quarrel

between Nora and Philip Cassidy leads her to ignore his attempt to see her before going away to join the 88th regiment at Fredericksburg. She decides to follow Philip and apologize to him in person, thinking that it was not appropriate to part the way they did. Halfway into her journey, she disguises herself in the attire of a Union soldier, and yet for her, gender is not as easily changeable as it was for Rosa. Once in her female garments, a confederate lieutenant named Mahan takes her captive. By chance, her brother and Philip find her whereabouts but fail to rescue her. In another attempt to save her, Mahan and his friends take them captive. As the plot thickens, Nora goes to the brigade, once again in soldier's attire, finds Colonel Meagher, and tells him all about her adventures, to which he listens with great enthusiasm. When Peter and Philip manage to escape from the Confederate camps, where they were being held as war prisoners, a reunion occurs. Nora and Philip and Peter and Eva get married, and the two comrades go back to their brigade as lieutenant and orderly sergeant.

The author dedicates “this story, illustrative of eventful scenes connected with the Battle of Fredericksburg”<sup>44</sup> to General Meagher and the men of the Irish Brigade in the opening chapter. Phillip and Peter belong to the 88<sup>th</sup> regiment, also known as the Connaught Rangers. The two characters are referred to as “our two sons of Erin,” and “our two Hibernians,” highlighting their Irish identity.<sup>45</sup> They are strong, healthy and noble in appearance, and their bravery is epic in the sense that they end up crossing the river at night to capture some Confederate soldiers on their own. Peter hesitates over this plan, but Philip assures him that “nothing is impossible to a determined Irishman.”<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the first encounter with the male characters of the story reflects their boldness in actions and fitness for the army. On the other hand, the heroine of this story is more fragile than Rosa Gaery. Contrary to the male figures, the first encounter with Nora depicts her dainty form “struggling in the arms of a tall confederate



ruffian, whose uniform bespoke him to be a commissioned officer of rank.”<sup>47</sup> The reader is reminded that Nora, just like Rosa, was on a quest for her lover for the romantic purpose of seeking forgiveness for their lover’s quarrel.

“Nora McIvor” is also interesting for the heroine’s interaction with the *Boston Pilot*. When the heroine thinks of buying a newspaper to get an understanding of where the brigade is stationed at the moment, she sees a newspaper boy and buys the *Washington Chronicle* as well as the *New York Herald* and the *Baltimore Clipper*. Then she asks the boy about another paper in his pile, to which he answers, “That, mum, is THE BOSTON PILOT. A good many o’ the soldiers buys that ‘ere paper. It tells all about General Meagher and the Irish Brigade”<sup>48</sup> [emphasis in the original]. Her encounter with the newspaper boy acts as an integrated self-advertisement since this story was specifically written for the *Pilot*. Moreover, this is not the only instance where the characters are shown interacting with newspapers. Later, Philip mentions his intention “to write a bit of correspondence to some paper, relating our adventures.”<sup>49</sup> Letters from soldiers were commonly published in the *Pilot* and reflected the interaction between the paper and its readers. In the story, too, newspapers in general are a part of the lives of the characters. Fiction and fact further mingle as Dunbar, a Confederate soldier, assumes that the heroism of Nora “would form the component parts of a good historical novel.”<sup>50</sup> Later, when General Meagher is informed of Nora’s adventures, he also says, “the whole matter might well be worked up into a thrilling historical romance,”<sup>51</sup> reminding the reader that this is related to history, and that the fictitious is not independent from factual.

Facts are again integrated into the story as the narrator depicts General Meagher addressing his soldiers at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862, the day the battle took place. There, the narrator highlights the idealism of the Irish in fighting for their adopted country;

Ah! History may speak of the valor of the nations of the old world—may dwell rapturously upon the indomitable bravery and energy displayed in hundreds of deadly contests, yet no chronicles ever boasted of more heroic actions than could those speaking of Ireland’s sons in the present war—fighting not for a nationality of their own, but for the noble country which had become theirs by adoption. In short, were they contending for their own “beautiful green isle”—for its emancipation from the thralldom it has so long endured—where now they are struggling for the integrity of the “Western Republic,” and aiding in its endeavors to put down the most gigantic rebellion of modern times, they could not display a more constant valor or heroism.<sup>52</sup>

The narrator highlights that the Irish are fighting with enthusiasm for America not because of a shared nationality but because of a shared existence and gratitude. Moreover, by comparing the struggle of Ireland for freedom from British rule with the Civil War, the narrator also declares the equality of both countries and both missions for the Irish-American. Furthermore, the loyalty of the Irish Brigade is strongly emphasized one last time in the conclusion. The reader is reminded that, even though many incidents occur when our heroes might be considered deserters during their capture by the rebel forces, their brothers in arms never suspect them such, suggesting that the Irish soldier cannot be suspected of deserting his duty to his adopted country. But still, no matter how devoted they are to their adopted country and its cause, their Irish identity is more dominant than the American one, for when addressed as Yankees, a Confederate soldier states that our heroes “are not Yankees ... but genuine Hibernians.”<sup>53</sup>

In “Rosa Gaery,” the author emphasizes the heroism of the soldiers, makes constant references to their enlistment as volunteers, and shows that the soldiers and their commander

Mulligan did everything they could to secure victory, and yet had to surrender because the badly needed help never came. After that, the author mentions that the Colonel and his soldiers were not to blame for this surrender, but that “[h]istory will yet tell us that we may look to those higher in authority, for the reason why timely aid was not sent.”<sup>54</sup> In “Nora McIvor,” on the other hand, the author chooses not to mention the defeat at the end of the battle. Again, he compensates for the defeat in saying that General Meagher resigned his duty because his brigade lost a lot of soldiers and he received “no encouragement by which he might again be enabled to fill up his command.”<sup>55</sup>

The defeat at Fredericksburg cost the lives of a great number of soldiers from the Irish brigade. The *Pilot* mentions that the high number of soldiers lost at Fredericksburg haunts their memory since it was the *Pilot* that encouraged enlistments.<sup>56</sup> They blame abolitionists, the Confederate forces, the government and General Burnside for the lost Irish lives and the defeat. The writers of the both serialized fictional works chose these two battles in order to redeem the reputation of a glorious Irish brigade. In the closing paragraph from “Rosa Gaery,” the compensation is clearly stated; “Victory after victory, with unexampled rapidity, has wiped away the disgrace of defeat at Manassas, and the humiliation of surrender at Lexington! Irish generals at Winchester and Pittsburg, and Irish soldiers at Donelson, Pea Ridge, Newbern and Roanoke have won undying fame!”<sup>57</sup> And in “Nora McIvor,” the narrator guarantees the reader that the effects of the defeat at Fredericksburg do not exist anymore, and that America is close to victory. Even though the author chooses not to present the defeat in the story, the reader acknowledges the defeat for it is part of the history. Moreover, both of these fictional archives present the surrender and defeat in the background, highlighting the gallantry and loyalty of Irish soldiers. Their alternative archive is not focused on the loss, but on the contributions of the Irish race.

### **Draft Riots: The Black Man as the Nemesis of the Irish**

Crushed by the wheels of the power structure, Irish-Americans and Irish immigrants struggled to be accepted into the mainstream American population since this acceptance would offer opportunities of labor and equality. Manual jobs, which were available to the Irish, further complicated their status as equals of the white American, since the mainstream American community had their prejudices and considered the Irish laborer more equal to the African-American man. Therefore, the third answer to the question “What did the Catholic Irish fight for?” lies in the racial tension between them and African-Americans. The Irish did not fight for the emancipation of the black man. This was a milestone, for as Noel Ignatiev argues, the politically powerful Irish completed their transformation to Americans by establishing their difference from the African-American slave with a proslavery discourse (38).

The artificial differences created to contrast manmade races helped the Irish to pass as white. Furthermore, this passing provided them with the power to subjugate the black race, a consolation for the poorest classes of the white race whose only possession in terms of social elevation consisted of their skin color. The situation of the Irish among this group of people is particularly interesting in view of their previous experiences of racial oppression and subjugation for their minority status in Ireland. Even though the Irish were oppressed in their native land, they learned to oppress racial and ethnic others as a result of their American identity acquisition. As Forrest G. Wood mentions, the Irish living in rural areas in large numbers had “monopolized the unskilled labor,” and alarmed at the suggested equality with the freed slaves, they became “probably the demagogues’ most combustible human kindling” (23). To prove how loyal they were to American racial values, they attacked abolitionism as a movement. The main assets in

this attack were “the Catholic hierarchy, led by John Hughes, bishop and archbishop, together with the official and the unofficial Irish Catholic press” (Allen, 1: 178). The Irish attacked abolitionism for the opposite meant interfering in American politics. Moreover, the white status of the Irish allowed them to claim their racial superiority at the expense of the black man (Harris 1759).

The news on abolitionism is yet another side to the creation of the *Pilot*’s alternative archive since this archive is clearly white in its racial identification, situating the Irish as members of the white race as well as patriotic American national subjects. The *Pilot* makes it extremely clear that the Irish Catholics are not fighting for the freedom of the blacks. In this sense, the tone of the editorials drastically changes following the Emancipation Proclamation. Before December 1862, the South is represented as the source of the hardships the country is going through. For example, in “Rosa Gaery,” there is an obvious hatred for the Confederate forces, who are pictured as cowards, traitors and rebels. And yet, in “Nora McIvor,” the language that described the confederates is not condemning. They are still viewed as rebels, however, now they are fighting for a cause for which the *Pilot* feels sympathy. The change of lexicon in the articles indicates the emphasis the newspaper puts on the idea of racial subordination and domination. The constant repetition of the words black and white in relation to an anticipated black rebellion, and the white man's dreaded subordination is a significant device they use to draw attention to the subject.

The proslavery discourse in the *Pilot* goes through different phases. Even though they are not fond of the African-American before the Civil War, the representation of blacks is milder when compared to their representation in the *Pilot* after the Emancipation Proclamation. Similarly, historian Chandra Manning argues that “[b]y the end of the war, white northern

opinions about racial equality and civil rights ... were far more malleable and vulnerable to intense self-scrutiny among Union troops than anyone could have imagined when the war began” (12). However, representation of the black man in “Rosa Gaery” and “Nora McIvor” contradicts this idea. In “Rosa Gaery”, Sampson Snowball is far more sympathetic than the nameless black character in “Nora McIvor.” In “Rosa Gaery,” which was written before the Proclamation, the person who informs Rosa about the plans of the villain Doherty is Sampson Snowball, a freed African-American slave. His speech betrays that he is uneducated when compared to Rosa’s English with her perfect grammar and accent. However, although uneducated and childish, his behavior leads him to save the reputation of Rosa. In other words, even though he is free, he is still obliged to serve the needs of white people. But his good behavior does not stop the author from describing him as “one of the most ludicrous of Nature’s compositions.”<sup>58</sup> In “Nora McIvor,” which was published a year after the Proclamation, the black man continues to serve the needs of the white Irish heroine. In this instance, “a negro” asks for “Miss McIvor, and, on being shown into her presence,” gives her a bundle containing a soldier’s uniform, upon which “Nora rewarded the contraband with a dollar.”<sup>59</sup> The word choice is significant for it shows that, even emancipated, the black man is neither respected nor seen as the equal of the Irish. Therefore, in the imagination of the Irish, after the emancipation, the black man is disregarded as an insignificant character whose only role is to help out the protagonist.

No matter how superior the Irish saw themselves to the black man, the perception of the native-born Americans was not necessarily the same. The *Pilot* objected to the opinion of Americans in the editorial “Harper’s Weekly on Negroes,” since in 1863 *Harper’s Weekly* proposed that blacks have done more than the Irish in the recent war.<sup>60</sup> Almost in a threatening tone, the *Pilot* says that the Irish have done more for America than both the blacks and the white

American. The *Pilot* declares that the Irish as an immigrant race did not start this war, but nevertheless fought for a nation that, according to them, turned a cold shoulder to Irish immigrants.<sup>61</sup> In the serialized fiction, their heroism is not disputed; the bravery of the characters is recognized. Furthermore, in Laffan's columns, the author is free to present the archive that he wants to pass on to other generations. So, he honors the dead soldiers for having redeemed the living Irish as members of a nation they are fighting to join. Nevertheless, in real life there is a controversy between Americans and Irish-Americans about the latter's contributions to the Union; interests of nationalism and whiteness collide when it comes to recognizing the Irish as nation-building white American citizens. Moreover, the *Pilot's* resentful tone was inflamed with the rising numbers of dead Irish soldiers on the battlefield. Patrick Donahoe's role as treasurer of the Ninth Regiment, composed entirely of naturalized Catholic Irish-Americans, was another source of resentment since he worked hard for the preparation and recruitment of the Ninth Regiment (Foik 173; Macnamara 5; O'Connor 105). The paper is offended by the abolitionist turn in the course of the war, stating that Irish soldiers fought and died for the cause of the Union and not for the abolition of slavery. Blaming the politicians at Washington—and specifically Lincoln—for their loss, the paper frequently mentions the enlistment of Irish-American soldiers of their own free will.

In 1862-63, a rapid increase in hostility towards African-Americans could be evidently observed in the *Pilot's* discourse. The economic and psychological burden of the ongoing Civil War, the recruitment of black soldiers to Union ranks in 1862, the declaration of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, and later the creation of black troops in May 1863 intensified the racial tension between African-Americans and Irish-Americans, leading the way to the Draft Riots of July 1863. Starting with the Proclamation, the *Pilot's* news coverage is

revealing in this sense. According to the news published during this period, the black soldier lacks the bravery of the Irish; he is a thief who steals guns from the Union army and a violent man who massacres white families in acts of revenge. The *Pilot* uses its pages cunningly for the purpose of creating a negative black image; for instance, it quotes news articles from American papers glorifying the black man but criticizing and even discrediting the Irishman on the same page, arranged so that the reader would read the news articles on the glorified black soldiers and then move to reading the article or editorial on the discredited Irishman, in that order. I suggest that the *Pilot's* printing of these materials in this order is intentional, and even politically indoctrinating. This way, the *Pilot* passed its ideas onto its readers in such a subtle way that its growing resentment transmitted to its readers in the form of anger. For that reason, the news created a contemporary memory for the reader, whose resentment to the government gradually turned into anger at the African-American man.

The *Pilot's* news coverage intimates the changing nature of the paper's attitude to abolitionism and African-Americans during the Civil War. In 1861, 1862 and 1863, news on "amalgamation" of white and black races and fugitive slaves killing white men en route to freedom appear in the *Pilot*. For instance, "amalgamation" of races on the social stage is expressed to be "too repulsive, too disgusting, too abominable to be suggested,"<sup>62</sup> and the paper reflects on an article of *Harper's Weekly* on blacks, concluding ironically from it that "amalgamation between Black and White is a holy thing."<sup>63</sup> In 1862, the paper spares more space for news on black soldiers and the property value of blacks. The following year, the negative image of the black soldier appears in the *Pilot* as it features news on cowardly black soldiers, their unfitness as a race in taking care of themselves and the necessity of slavery as a paternal institution. In the year 1864, the *Pilot* presents news on insubordinate black soldiers,



blacks insulting whites, and the proclaimed bankruptcy of the nation due to the emancipation of the slaves. The discourse on blacks changes to a degree in 1865, as the paper publishes news on the celebration of the Emancipation, news on the influence of the Catholic church on Emancipation, news on negro suffrage and why it should not be considered, news on freed slaves who prefer to stay with their former owners, and how abolitionists changed their favorable remarks about the blacks after their emancipation. The paper's lexicon when referring to black people is also suggestive of its attitude towards the black race. The most important inference is their rejection of the black man as a member of the American nation. During my research on the printed material published between 1851 and 1866, I never came across the *Pilot* referring to the black race as African-Americans.<sup>64</sup> They are referred to as Africans and negroes in most cases but these words undergo a drastic and far more offensive change as the war progresses. During this period, the *Pilot* uses 'negro', generally during 1861, which later becomes 'inferior complexion', 'wretched creature', 'nigger', 'black slave of the South', 'their blacks', [highlighting the possessive pronoun of slaveholders] in 1862; 'cuffey' and 'chief property' in 1863; 'insubordinate' in 1864. In 1865, however, the paper uses 'hardly competent to vote', 'beasts of the field', 'black race', 'comic', 'intoxicated', 'lazy and imprudent servants', 'colored free labor', 'ignorant', 'penniless', 'illiterate', 'unaccustomed to freedom', and 'idle' to define and refer to black people. It is interesting how many of these words such as intoxicated, lazy, imprudent, ignorant, and idle were also being used by nativists to define the Irish. The *Pilot* responds to the newspapers that label the Irishmen as such, and says,

Certain vulgar and abusive presses and speakers among the Republicans are accustomed, while claiming for their party "all the decency," to deride, to sneer at, traduce and revile their Irish fellow-citizens; to call them "brutal and ignorant,"

as the *Boston Journal*, and to speak of them in more offensive language as the *Transcript*, or to put the crowning insult upon them by comparing them with the negroes, and claiming a higher moral and intellectual development in the negro than in the Irishman, as the *Atlantic Monthly* has done.<sup>65</sup>

As seen from this quotation, the most insulting of all according to the *Pilot* is the reference of the *Atlantic Monthly* to the higher intelligence of the black man when compared to the Irish. This idea bothers the *Pilot*, because the paper works hard to distinguish its countrymen from blacks in order to give the Irish the same opportunities as native-born white Americans. However, the commentary the Irish receives from other newspapers suggests that the prejudice is still evident in spite of the *Pilot*'s efforts. Therefore, not only blacks but also abolitionists get their share of the *Pilot*'s anti-abolitionist vocabulary, since they are referred to as 'negro fanatics', 'partisans', 'negro-ridden', 'negrophilists', and 'fanatic minority.'

Moreover, the paper follows six strategies in its news coverage and editorials during the Civil War in order to overthrow the efforts of abolitionists and to defame African-American soldiers. Even though the strategies I list follow each other chronologically in general, I do not argue that one strategy is the absolute result of another. The news articles and editorials I refer to show that examples of one strategy can also be found in the previous or following year. This is because the paper has a specific discourse on slavery that is embedded in its identity. These strategies represent the overall reaction of the paper to the questions of emancipation and amalgamation and are deduced from its printed material. The first strategy is to disprove abolitionists and their attempts to save a race they deemed fated for enslavement. For example, an account of a riot in Detroit is one of the first implementations of this strategy and involves a mulatto man who is accused of assaulting a nine-year-old orphan, an accusation which results in

the death of a German in the gathering crowd. Upon the death of their fellow citizen, the Germans form an angry mob and attack a house/copper shop occupied by armed blacks. The account particularly emphasizes the guns owned by these free blacks, implying the in allowing an enslaved people to bear arms and fears that they may turn against innocent members of the race that enslaved them. The mob burns houses and lynches the black occupants of the house, including a mother and her baby trying to escape the flames, but who upon being attacked with bricks outside, is forced to go into the burning house. A great chaos prevails, and an opportunity is presented for the *Pilot* to comment on how incompetently the blacks handled the situation; “[w]hile the riot was going on the negroes scattered in every direction, a large number going over the river to Canada, while many actually fled to the woods with their wives and little ones. They were perfectly panic-stricken and ran hither and thither with a recklessness which rendered them totally unfit to take proper care of themselves.”<sup>66</sup> Stressing the incapability of the free blacks to take proper care of themselves indicates the *Pilot*’s desire to show their lack of adaptation to living as free human beings. Indeed, this was one of the initial ideas of the anti-abolitionists, who argued that child-like, dehumanized and incapacitated chattel would not be able to make decisions for themselves when freed.

This rhetoric of belittling both the black man and the abolitionist is used, in the heat of abolitionism, to support the paper’s claims of the probable consequences of the Civil War. In another instance, the paper announces in “Abolitionism a Philosophic Madness” that the extinction of New Englanders is due to their low numbers of reproduction and inclination to physical and mental illnesses.<sup>67</sup> These New Englanders, according to the article, are the reason for the expansion of abolitionism. Therefore, by stressing the unfitness of the abolitionists in terms of health, the paper questions their ability to lead a drastic movement that affects the fate

of the country. The most unfit person in this view was without any doubt President Abraham Lincoln. The *Pilot* resents the constitutional amendments in favor of the black race and finds it objectionable that the chief of the country advocates for those amendments. Before declaring him “unfit for his place,” the paper vilifies the President by saying that,

President Lincoln is neither a Lord Macaulay in English literature, nor a Thomas Jefferson in the composition of State papers. But, if he is not a great man, nor a brilliant one, he is honest in the discharge of his obligations. If his capacity were equal to his conscience, he would not be unfit for the splendid position to which his countrymen, in an unfortunate moment of imprudence, elevated him.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the obvious disapproval of Lincoln demonstrated in this paragraph, the same article states that they are staying within the borders of respectability because of his role as the country’s leader; yet, the paper views the President’s message on abolition as a stimulus to further divide the nation. Indeed, as with the *Pilot*, many newspapers of the time did not give their full support to President Lincoln save in the last months leading up to his assassination (Mott 388). In this particular commentary, the *Pilot* does not miss the chance to emphasize the unfit nature of Lincoln on matters of cleverness and politics, further hinting that Lincoln, like all other abolitionists, is what they call—adopting the most offensive language—a ‘nigger on the brain,’ influenced and charmed by blacks. In this sense, the *Pilot* presents contradictory opinions as the paper supports the Union in its cause but refuses to be acknowledged as abolitionists. The announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation even leads the paper to deem the Lincoln administration “incompetent, fanatic, radical”, for the paper deems slave freedom the Southerner’s loss of chattel, which was “a property guaranteed to them by the fundamental law of the land.”<sup>69</sup> The paper sympathizes with the slaveholders of the South and represents the loss

of property rights as especially alarming, since the paper had been directing immigrants to obtain real property, as they believed it was immobile and irrecoverable. Further unsettling was the question that if wealthy Protestant white Americans could lose property and face loss of wealth, what could the poor Irish-American laborer do to preserve his chance to prosper?

Therefore, the second strategy is to highlight the chattel value of African-Americans, and the economic effects of the Proclamation, which the paper identified as a justification for the South's participation in the War. The main income of the South and the fuel of its agricultural wealth, the slave population neither had to be saved nor enlightened, for the Southerners needed them to remain their principal economic asset. In "Abolition no Cure for the Country," the paper emphasizes the economic value of the slaves and asks, "What could the South do but declare for separation, when its chief property was violently threatened to be taken from it?"<sup>70</sup> In order to evoke empathy, the paper even asks the Northern reader what they would have done if their chief property were forcefully seized. Hence, it is plausible to point to the *Pilot* as an anti-abolitionist paper, believing in the rightful position of the black man as a slave and the importance of keeping them in that status for the purpose of economic prosperity. Indeed, the paper mentions that not everyone is an abolitionist, and declares that "[t]he majority of us are true constitutional citizens, and the crimes of a party, of a scurvy, of a licentious, and of a fanatic minority, shall never be visited on our heads."<sup>71</sup> The paper even accuses some of the Catholic journals—specifically the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph*—of trying to turn their readers into abolitionists. However, the *Pilot* feels secure about the side of the Irish on this matter noting that the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph* "cannot taint his Irish readers."<sup>72</sup> This is a statement to be kept in mind, for the ideas of the paper regarding the status and the integration of the blacks into free society will change drastically over time, reflecting yet another inconsistency in its rhetoric.

The third strategy was to understate and impugn the efforts of the black soldiers in the Union Army to prevent ‘unjust’ comparisons made in nativist papers between Irish and black brigades. When brought together, the news under this category seems to be deliberately chosen to create a hostile agenda towards African-Americans. The effort is similar to the formation of an alternative archive in favor of Irish-Americans. Here, the paper creates an attitude for Irish-Americans, who fight in the Union ranks or whose relatives are drafted into the army. Economically and socially neglected yet drafted, Irish-Americans felt insulted by the exultation of the black soldier. Following the news of black heroism in the Union ranks, the *Pilot* started publishing news that aimed to smear the black soldiers. For example, news on treacherous black soldiers helping the Confederate soldiers,<sup>73</sup> articles on the inapt nature of integrating black soldiers into the Union forces,<sup>74</sup> news on black males crossing Canadian border to avoid the draft,<sup>75</sup> statements about the decrease in black enlistments to which they comment that “[t]he ‘contrabands’ can neither be bought nor persuaded,”<sup>76</sup> and corresponding articles derived from other newspapers on the laziness of black soldiers<sup>77</sup> find their place in the *Pilot*. Moreover, the *Pilot* notes the reactions of Irish soldiers to the recruitment of black soldiers in the Union army, which range from sarcastic hostility to considering them a useful contribution under certain circumstances. For example, some soldiers said “‘the niggers had as good a right to be shot as anybody.’ Others said it was all wrong, and ‘niggers had no business to be soldiers anyhow;’ and still another class of soldiers said they had no objection to colored soldiers, but they wanted white officers.”<sup>78</sup> According to this article, some soldiers even signaled disorder at the idea of getting orders from black officers or being kept on equal terms with them.

The fourth strategy was to criminalize the black man and demonstrate what monstrosities the black race was capable of if offered the chance. According to the *Pilot*, “[m]illions of blacks

and millions of whites cannot, where they are equally free, live in peace together. Incessant bloodshed would then be the constant condition of things. For such an evil, the bondage of one of the races is the only cure.”<sup>79</sup> Since the servitude of the white race is not an option based on its alleged racial superiority, the logical explanation is the enslavement of the black race. Therefore, slavery is demonstrated as a necessity, not an arbitrary choice. The instance where a soldier was hanged for shooting a black man offered a glimpse of the dangers of equating the lives of African-Americans with those of white men.<sup>80</sup> In another instance, General Thomas J. Stevenson, mentioned for his bravery, gets arrested “for publicly declaring he would rather be beaten by the rebels than fight with negroes.”<sup>81</sup> The black race would not only indirectly cause harm to white people, according to the paper. The *Pilot* spread fear among whitened Irish by propagating rumors about how enslaved blacks would massacre the plantation owners. The fear was so intense that in the editorial “Massacre, the Natural Result of the ‘Proclamation,’” the paper even asked whether they were “to save the history of the Republic from the broad indelible disfigurement of the massacre, lust, conflagration and sacrilege on a white minority, committed by four millions of Africans in wild, unbridled license from every law?”<sup>82</sup> Not surprisingly, a few months later an article named “Shocking Murder by Negroes: A Whole Family Massacred,” appeared reporting that a group of black men brought from Cairo had massacred Major Beckham, his son and four grandsons. As expected, the paper states that “the atrocious deed has spread alarm among the inhabitants of the neighborhood, who believe that the long expected massacre has commenced.”<sup>83</sup> Another instance taken from the *Catholic Sentinel* reports that a black man named Williams shot John McLaughlin, and the provoked crowd, upon “hearing extravagant rumors that the negroes [were] all carrying arms, and the young man was dying, became quite excited.”<sup>84</sup> This was the next step in establishing a foundation for the anti-

abolitionist ideas of the *Pilot*. At first, it blamed abolitionists, and then stressed the economic value of the black man as a chattel. Then, it deemed the black man as a cowardly, unintelligent being, unfit to be regarded as a soldier, and unwanted by his fellow soldiers.

Interestingly, when these patterns did not produce the desired outcome, the paper changed its discourse in addressing the African-American man, now picturing him as a barbarian capable of the greatest massacres when provided with arms. Nevertheless, the image of the dangerous black man appears in the *Pilot's* accounts of the many riots, as well as lynchings targeting free African-Americans, signaling increasing tension between the blacks and immigrant populations. In another example, the news of the rape of Clark, an Irish girl, in New York by a colored man named Robert Mulhner is retrieved from the *Newburg Journal*.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, Mulhner is seized by the countrymen of the girl and is hanged from a tree. Even though the account of the news condemns the lynch mob for interfering with the law, a tone of approval is evident between the lines. What is more significant is that the black man now turns into a symbol of sexual danger, a new label that gives him the formidable power of subduing the bodies of Irish women. Thus, the black man becomes a danger with the prospect of amalgamation, and a sign that Irish-Americans were truly absorbing the sexual values of white culture in regarding the feared prospect of the Other's male sexuality. The depiction of the black man in the *Pilot* as harmful both to the society and Irish-Americans shows that the paper's discourse contributed to the production of racial enmity towards blacks. Suddenly the child-like black man, a representative of social degradation, is turned into a nemesis, this time as bloodthirsty cunning soldiers.

The fifth strategy was to suggest that abolitionists would lose their enthusiasm for saving the black race since, for most, this was a hobby and not a serious commitment that would endure



after the downfall of slavery. The *Pilot* prints an article quoted from *The Boston Herald*, which support their disposition on the subject:

Strange to say, we begin to hear reports that the negro is now neglected, and the freed negro is not a subject of interest to the philanthropist. Poor Cuffey!<sup>86</sup> You would have been better off if you had been as well neglected a long time ago. If the purposes of your pretended friends are carried out, to break up the social fabric, and turn you loose from the places where you have been provided heretofore, little will they care what comes to you hereafter. You may earn a living if you can; if not, you may starve. But you will be no more feasted when you stray among us, for your power has departed. The negro in slavery is a good hobby, which may be ridden into office; but the freed negro is a dead horse, to be left to the crows—Alas, poor Cuffey!<sup>87</sup>

According to the *Pilot*, when the enthusiasm of the abolitionists subsides they will leave the African-Americans to their fate. This assertion shows that the *Pilot*, as well as the *Boston Herald*, believed that the abolitionists were insincere in their acts. This quotation also reflects on the hatred towards the black man, who has no secured place in anti-abolitionist society. This is also the proof that the *Pilot* never believed in the probable success of the black man, given the paper's belief in the mental inferiority and lack of social aptness of the mainly agricultural African-Americans in a white society where capitalism prevails.

The sixth, and final strategy, was to indicate that blacks did not favor abolitionism and that abolitionism only brought calamity to the black race. The paper mockingly criticizes the participation of white men in a war for the cause of abolitionism as “[t]he negroes have shown no earnest disposition to effect any change of their *status*”<sup>88</sup> [emphasis in the original]. The

black man, according to the paper's statements, is unaware of the abolitionist intentions. Moreover, even if he is aware of those intentions, he does not react in an effective way that would help his status. In this way, the paper continues the myth of the happy slave and the protective familial bond between the slave and his master, which the slave does not want to break.

The enmity towards African-Americans grew deeper when the Conscription Act was passed in 1863, requiring white men to enroll in the army unless they could find a substitute for themselves, or pay \$300 to escape the draft (Bailyn, et al. 469). Poor classes of laborers were outraged, for this meant that they would lose their jobs to blacks while fighting for blacks. The amount of money needed for escaping the draft was beyond the reach of the workingman, creating a situation that further distressed them as a group subjected to the unfair treatment of the abolitionist government. In July 1863, the outraged group attacked government buildings in New York to show their discontent with the draft. The attack on buildings later turned into attacks on African-Americans and the properties of rich white men. The majority of the attackers were identified as Irishmen, and the burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum, as well as the sight of African-American men hanging from lampposts, further damaged the Irish-American image, negatively contributing to the perception of indignant Irish mob. According to Laffan, the \$300 fee was the provocation for the Draft Riots, along with the belief that "the Federal Administration had repeatedly violated the laws of the land, the working classes rashly, though not surprisingly, despaired of legal protection, and madly resorted to violent measures to secure even handed justice."<sup>89</sup> In his column, Laffan addresses the blacks in a sympathetic tone, but no matter how impulsive he finds the riots he understands and justifies the cause behind it.

On the other hand, the *Pilot* is completely outraged by the riot for it harms the law-abiding, peaceful Irish-American identity the paper tries to create for the immigrants. I argue that the *Pilot* was contributing to the construction of an ethnic, racial and national memory of the Irish during the Civil War and that it played a key role in the propagation of racial hatred towards the blacks. In this regard, the *Pilot* was both the reflection and the mirror. However, the newspaper's tone slightly changes on the position of the black man in the current situation. Even though the *Pilot* initially circulated vicious portraits of the black man, the paper later attenuated the tone of its racial slurs in an effort to pacify angry mobs of Irish laborers. All of a sudden, the black man is cleared of everything with which he was charged. His color is not his fault, "God made him;" his idea on his equality with the white man is the fault of the abolitionists, and even his employment in the jobs of the Irish is a good thing, for the paper wishes "that the black man was employed for all the drudgery done in our cities and manufacturing towns, thereby driving the Irish laborer where his services will be rewarded—THE GREAT WEST—where he can be secure from the taunts of the Know-Nothing, and where he can bring up his children in the faith of his fathers without molestation."<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the *Pilot* views the Draft Riots as a crime, the culprits of which will be liable to God. Hence, the paper uses religion as a means of suppression rather than warning them using their national identity and citizenships.

During Draft week, the news published on the subject is considerably limited due to the lack of communication and delays in transmission of news. Within the frame of published news, however, the arson of the Colored Orphan Asylum and the destruction of property are given in detail, whereas the violence towards blacks is barely covered. Nevertheless, the paper gives details of the event the week following the riots, yet they also give a disclaimer to the native population who blame the Irish for the riots; following the draft riots of 1863, the Irish were

facing harsh criticism once again. The *Pilot* and Laffan both feared that the sacrifices of their countrymen would be in vain. The *Pilot*, the defender of the Irish race, as mentioned in its motto, stands up for Irish-Americans, saying that the Irish were guilty but justifiable at the same time. The paper admits that the Irish comprised the majority of the crowd, yet they add that the riot took place close to their quarters providing easy access to them; it was, then, simply a matter of geography that resulted in the large participation of the Irish to the riots. Moreover, according to the paper, the Irish rioters were led astray. Otherwise, “[t]here is no more law-abiding class in the country, as a general thing, than the Catholic Irish population.”<sup>91</sup>

On August 1, 1863, Laffan writes in response to what he addresses as the radical editors of mainstream newspapers such as the *Tribune* and *Post*, which discriminated against the Irish labelling them a foreign and brutal mob. Following this, he publishes a letter that was addressed to the editor of the *New York Times* signed by MOYLAN. In this letter, Moylan answers the accusations directed at the Irish race after the Draft Riots. According to Moylan, the Irish arrive in the United States devoid of racial prejudice against the black man but acquire it upon arrival. His second statement is that Irish immigrants are uneducated, making them vulnerable to the political deceptions of native-born Americans. Third, and last, he blames the so-called Catholics for what happened, saying that Catholics practicing their faith have never been disrespectful to laws and authorities in America.<sup>92</sup> In a clipping from the article of editor-in-chief of the *World*, the reader is shown that all that the Irish sacrificed throughout these years “was in a moment forgotten.”<sup>93</sup> Laffan then states that even though these men are proud to be of Irish nationality, they are nevertheless “American citizens, entitled to be dealt with and recognized as such, and not to be invidiously spoken of and to as an “Irish,” and a “foreign element. ... If we are to be referred to as a distinct element of the national power, the only legal and admissible designation

is that of Irish-Americans.”<sup>94</sup> This statement is the claim of a long-deserved recognition in the eyes of Laffan. It is also proof that the creation of an archive collecting the good and heroic acts of the Irish is essential, since the receiving culture is inclined to forget or disregard them. Regardless of the *Pilot*’s rejection of large numbers of Irish participating willingly in the riots, Ignatiev notes that “[t]he number of Irish who took part in the riots was not less than the number who wore the blue uniform” (104). According to him, the large number of Irish participants is proof of their belief regarding this topic. However, in its effort to reform the image of the Irish-American, the *Pilot* starts publishing articles that distinguish the ruffians from the Irish. To this end, they take a paragraph from the editorial of the *Tribune*, describing the crowd that gathered in front of the Archbishop’s house as “decent-looking”, forming “a meeting of Catholic laborers and mechanics who have not identified themselves with the unreasoning and merciless rioters who have been sacking and burning the houses of our citizens, and reddening their hands with the blood of innocent men, women and children.”<sup>95</sup> In an effort to counter the effects of these disloyal, violent, mob-like Irish depicted in mainstream news, the paper pieces together a new archive in the following weeks, where it publishes together news of Irish heroism and loyalty together with news on African-American violence and disloyalty to the Union army.

As the paper continues to give specifics of the riot, the material destruction not only of the property of the blacks but also the whites becomes a greater problem. The enraged crowd also attacked men who appeared to be rich; they even threatened to burn down railroad and iron companies unless the work was halted. Burning, destroying, lynching and mutilating even white colonels (i.e. Colonel O’Brien), the violence of the crowd eventually caused African-Americans to leave the city to seek shelter from the rioters. In the news coverage of the riots, previously ‘brutal Africans’ becomes “helpless creatures”, “poor negroes”, “unfortunate creatures”, and

“innocent victim[s]”, who are “hunted, driven about and hanged.”<sup>96</sup> Even though the *Pilot* adopts a milder tone during the riots, it returns to its anti-abolitionist attitude after the situation settles down. In an editorial, the fight for jobs between white and black laborers, the familiarity of the blacks to servile circumstances and the fear of an amalgamation of the two races are presented to the reader as the underlying reasons for the editor’s opposition to abolition. The editor accepts the merits of the abolition of slavery, but he believes that emancipation can be achieved only at the expense of the poor classes of white laborers, especially the Irish. An article appears in *Harper’s Weekly* that actualizes the fears of the paper about the superiority of African-Americans to the Irish race. The editor resents *Harper’s Weekly* querying the contributions of the Irish to America when compared to the contributions of their nemesis to the country within a short time. In the eyes of the editor, the feared amnesia of the native population is setting in, but the editor consider it his duty to remind them of the heroic past of the Irish on the continent. According to the paper, then, the creation of an alternative archive is justified once more, in view of the prospects of a future hostile attitude towards the Irish. However, the editor believes in the superiority of the Irish race, not only to the black race but also to the deteriorating white native population. He says,

The plague of “nigger on the brain,” will soon have exhausted all its strength, the black will lose his apotheosis, abolitionism will be put under foot, the nativism now rampantly springing up here and there will regret its audacity; religious intolerance, like that of the Harpers, will effect nothing but contempt for its upholders, and the Irish race in America will be forever in predominance.<sup>97</sup>

This sentence demonstrates the insuppressible anger directed at the native-born Americans for not acknowledging the great sacrifices made by the Irish population, who not only fight for a

country they adopted but also work in back-breaking jobs that actually construct a the country. In these articles and editorials, the immigrant is guided towards jobs that will set a line that differentiates between him and the black man. Unfortunately, these arduous jobs do not elevate the Irish over the black man, resulting in the humiliation of the whole race; still, the paper is also aware that a country can only be built where the construction starts from the ground. Knowing that they are the constructing power, the editor's harsh tone becomes even threatening, declaring their prospective predominance and progress in America.

During 1864, blacks cease to be a topic of interest to the Irish-American paper. Instead, the progress of the war, relations with England and the Fenian Brotherhood become the noteworthy topics. Furthermore, the paper adopts a new approach toward black people by giving good examples of the black race and stressing their debt to the Irish for their freedom. For example, the *Pilot* quotes an article from the *Newark Daily Advertiser*, which recounts a correspondent's experience at a lecture by Frederick Douglass regarding the latter's escape from slavery;

‘It was a warm-hearted Irishman,’ said he, ‘that first whispered to me of freedom, and I shall never forget the race to whom I am so much indebted. I was standing by when two sons of Erin were unloading a mud scow, and having nothing to do, I took hold of a spade and began to assist them. By and by one of those rough, but kind-hearted fellows said to me, are ye a slave?’ ‘Yes.’ said I. ‘Holy Mother! that’s a shame, so it is--run away.’ he whispered. The thought tingled through my whole being, and ere many days had passed I did run away.’<sup>98</sup>

This account is found in a similar form in the life narrative of Frederick Douglass. There, however, the incident includes Douglass' fears of the Irish as unreliable white men. Douglass

mentions that he “pretended not to be interested in what they [the Irishmen] said, and treated them as if I did not understand them; for I feared they might be treacherous. White men have been known to encourage slaves to escape, and then, to get the reward, catch them and return them to their masters” (42). This account of Douglass’ encounter with the two Irishmen confirms the acceptance of Irish whiteness by members of the race they subjugated. In the eyes of Douglass, the Irish are white and possibly treacherous in this sense. He continues; “I was afraid that these seemingly good men might use me so; but I nevertheless remembered their advice, and from that time I resolved to run away” (Douglass 42). This quotation is important for it shows that the *Pilot* is now trying to benefit from such rhetoric and act as if it guided its readers to a pro-abolition whiteness. The great tension between the freed slaves and poor immigrant laborers subsides in the course of the war, and the black man ceases to be the nemesis of the Irish. The current nemesis is the nativists and their amnesia. In an 1864 article, the *Pilot* says that Americans should have recognized the courage of the Irish soldier regardless of the Civil War. Yet, they also accept that it was this War that proved the loyalty of the Irish citizen. According to the newspaper, the way for the Irish and American races to make progress is to leave prejudices behind and initiate a fraternal bond.

In conclusion I want to answer the question I asked in the beginning with the words of the newspaper: “What are Irish Catholics Fighting for?” I believe in the importance of looking at the people experiencing the history, and hearing what they have to say about certain events. In an editorial published in 1865, the editor asks this question. The answer? They are fighting for a country, for liberty, equal laws, equal rights and equal privileges, for the Union, and for freedom of faith.<sup>99</sup> And yet, the language of the editorial suggests that the Irish-American has lost his faith in receiving what he fought for. Fearing that their sacrifices will be ignored by Americans, that



their history will exclude the Irish as a contributor to the cause of the Union, the *Pilot* wrote a history for Irish-Americans in an attempt to immortalize the fallen sons of Erin, whose names were secured in writing, to be found years later by historians, if not found by the contemporary historian himself.

This history reveals the construction of an alternative archive to contribute to the nationalistic identity of the Irish-American. It also reveals the opinion of the *Pilot* towards abolitionism and presents its pro-Union but anti-abolitionist attitude. This seems contradictory; however, when we take into consideration the racial enmity and the labor rivalry between blacks and the Irish, this contradictory attitude sounds reasonable. After the Emancipation Proclamation, the *Pilot* shows its resentment saying that, “after nearly two years’ fighting for the Union, as it was, and as it ought to be, we find ourselves engaged in an abolition war.”<sup>100</sup> The *Pilot* constantly mentions that the Irish fight for the Union, which is their attempt at full-inclusion in the American nation, and the paper states that they fight for the Union Cause and not for Emancipation. In their case, being a member of the American nation does not mean supporting the Lincoln government in freeing the enslaved African-Americans. Rather, the *Pilot* believes that it is the Irish-American’s duty to help the Union when the unity of the nation is threatened, but the paper also believes that the American laws that protect slavery should be respected by all. Nevertheless, the *Pilot*, as an institution for the advancement of the Irish, fights its own battle with nativist prejudices towards the Irish by creating an anti-abolitionist discourse and constructing an alternative archive.

## Conclusion

This dissertation tells the story of the *Pilot*'s transformation from an immigrant newspaper to an ethnic newspaper between the years of 1851 and 1866. My main concern has been to track the transformation of the paper as I analyze that of the Irish immigrant to a patriotic citizen. The analyses of these two transformations highlight the huge significance of the *Pilot* as an institution shaping the immigrant into the mold of the idealized Irish-American citizen. Indeed, this dissertation evidences that the *Pilot* as an institutional print medium changed the immigrant into a citizen by its guidance policy; in return, the immigrant's journey to becoming an Irish-American citizen obliged the paper to change its discourse to adjust to the emerging needs of this new citizen. In order to understand the development of the Irish from 1851 to 1866, I looked at the specifics of the *Pilot*'s advice on assimilation, naturalization, labor, race, and nationalism in the fictional and non-fictional works it printed.

I started this project with one question in mind: how does an immigrant become a citizen? My specific concern was the Irish immigrant of the nineteenth-century. The immediate answers pointed to the basics of survival in a new country; the process of adjustment by which the immigrant ~~to~~ learns the ways and values of the new society to which he emigrates, the process of settling down and showing social and cultural progress by his own industrious labor, and the process of proving his patriotism to the receiving culture in order to overcome native prejudices and the image of the immigrant as unassimilable. As these answers emerged, more questions followed. What was the role of the *Pilot* for the Irish immigrant? How did its significance as a guide for Famine immigrants identify it as an institution? What devices did it use for guidance? How and why did it become an archive for the Irish immigrant's history in the

States? What was the process of assimilation for the Irish immigrant? Did it mean complete absorption into the American nation? What was the significance of faith in the assimilation process? What did the Irish immigrant need to do in order to be accepted into the mainstream American nation? What was the role of property in the social improvement of the Irish? Why was labor such a dominantly negative force? How did the *Pilot* guide the Irish immigrant into the Union ranks to overcome adversity and prove the loyalty of the Irish immigrant and citizen to the Union with the help of the fighting Irish-American soldiers? How did the creation of an Irish-American patriotic archive become the means of reinforcing Irish valor in American history? And what was the role of fiction in the creation of this specific archive? Did fiction comply with or contradict non-fiction? How did the *Pilot* contribute to the creation of a white racial identity for the Irish immigrant and draw clear lines between him as a member of the white race and the black man with its racial discourse? And how did the *Pilot* with its printed material become an imagined community for Irish immigrants and Irish-Americans of the mid-nineteenth century. Above all, how did the *Pilot* guide the Irish immigrant to the idealized social, economic, nationalistic and racial identity it imagined for Irish-American citizens?

These questions dwell around three main matters: assimilation, labor, and nationalism. But before I dived into exploring these subjects, I studied the history of the *Pilot* in order to understand the foundations of this institutional print medium. The *Pilot*'s history reveals its attachment to the Catholic Church, and this attachment clarifies the paper's constant reminders to the Irish immigrant about the preservation of faith in Protestant America. Since the *Pilot* was founded on religious ideals in 1829, Catholicism became embedded as part of the character of the paper, as a result of which the paper instructed its readers on matters of the Church and virtues of preserving the faith. An adherence to Catholicism was a pre-given condition for

subscribing to the paper because the paper's identification with Roman Catholicism as well as the content of the printed material about the Church labeled it as representative of the faith. The abundance of printed material on the evils of Protestantism further dictated a Catholic readership base for the *Pilot* since it did not mean to guide Protestants through its columns. The *Pilot*, as a result, addressed an Irish Catholic readership base, which interacted with it on constant terms. Some readers asked for advice for jobs, some asked for the paper's opinion on political, religious or everyday matters, some wrote with the aim of informing their countrymen through their correspondence, some wrote in reply to the problems of other Irish readers, some wrote to advertise their business, and some inquired about their missing relatives through the *Pilot*. This interaction in fact stresses the value of the *Pilot* not only as a guide but also as the forum of an imagined community. The *Pilot* was the guide, but it was also the platform for members of the Irish community to interact with each other, in an age where information was not accessible to the poor classes. By their letters, the Irish communicated with other members of this imagined community, proving the actuality of an imagined Irish community scattered throughout the US and Ireland.

If there was an interaction between the paper and the readers, or in other words between the institution and the subject, this suggests that the institutional relationship is based on the communication of the parts, which are both under the influence of the receiving-culture. As an institution the *Pilot*'s role in guiding, shaping and idealizing the immigrant into a citizen, and the citizens' role in guiding the *Pilot* towards what they needed to know in order to succeed and prosper in the American society, led to a change in the *Pilot*'s guidance rhetoric over the years following the Famine. This change led to many inconsistencies in the *Pilot*'s discourse, especially on the subjects of abolitionism, interference in politics, and guidance of the immigrant

towards an agricultural life in the West. As I mentioned before, the end of the Famine immigration is the starting point for this study, as it marks a period in the history of the US when masses of uninformed immigrants arrived in need of guidance and orientation. The first guidance these immigrants needed concerned the basics of America, which they needed to know in order to dislodge romantic images of this new country. The *Pilot's* realism included informing the immigrant on discrimination, poverty and the dangers of Protestantism that awaited them in the US. O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide" was particularly important for its role in guiding the immigrant as to the realistic side of the US. O'Hanlon aimed to show the immigrant details of American life, and the new characteristics the immigrant had to obtain and the old characteristics he needed to leave behind for successful adaptation to this new environment. Assimilation was the foremost requisite for the immigrant's inclusion in American society. It did not mean a complete abandonment of Irish values; on the contrary, it meant a strong and continued affiliation with the Church, but it also meant tempering the Irish national identity among Americans. Naturalization and property ownership followed assimilation as ways of reinforcing the American identity. The publication of Sadlier's "Willy Burke" a year before the publication of "The Irish Emigrant's Guide," also depicts the successful immigrant in accordance with the *Pilot's* guidance policy. However, her strong emphasis on the preservation of the Catholic faith casts a shadow over the assimilation of the Burke children into the American nationality. Unlike O'Hanlon, Sadlier's successful immigrant is the one who manages to stay clear of degeneration in Protestant society. In Sadlier's terms, hard work and honesty are the traits of a good Catholic, and with the help of these traits the immigrant can raise himself up to a good status. Indeed, O'Hanlon also acknowledged that faith was essential, but he strongly stresses the importance of integrating into the ranks of Americans, for if an immigrant stays an immigrant then he is bound

to fail. Only through becoming a member of the American nation can they earn respect, capital, and equality. The first step of the *Pilot* in the guidance of the immigrant, then, is directing the immigrant into assimilation as he progresses to becoming a citizen.

The second step of the *Pilot* to guide the immigrant in the New World is to inform them on the subject of labor, since it had been both the curse and the salvation of the Irish immigrant. In the discussion of labor in Chapter Three, the problem of race is emphasized more than in the previous chapter, because the real contradiction between the Irish and the black man happened on the grounds of labor rather than the adjustment process. The *Pilot's* rhetoric on positioning the Irish above the African-American labor force—both free and enslaved—points to a strengthening racism on the paper's pages. Of course, the subjugation of the black man by the Irish was a reflection of the subjugation of the Irish by native-born Americans. In its guidance of the Irish laborer towards more secure and respectable jobs, the *Pilot* projected its racial values and the essentiality of belonging to the white race—acquired from the native-born Americans—to Irish immigrants, who absorbed these ideals in their fight for an improved labor environment and equality, as more of them were greeted with “No Irish Need Apply” signs. If the immigrant accepted these values and distanced himself from the black man, he could climb the social ladder. Thus labor, capital, and whiteness became essential components of the paper's rhetoric during 1854 and 1855. For this effort, the publication of the “Practical Lessons,” followed by Dorsey's “Dummie” reveal the paper's strategy in the guidance of the Irish. “Practical Lessons,” direct the newcomer to industrial jobs and skilled labor in contrast to O'Hanlon's “The Irish Emigrant's Guide,” which directed the immigrant to agricultural labor available in the territories of the West. Once the immigrant population is more established after the publication of “Practical Lessons,” the author turns his attention to education and its benefits for the uplift of

the laborer and his family. The Irish, in accordance with the principle rhetoric of the paper during this period, would succeed if they highlighted their whiteness—a requirement for inclusion into the respected ranks of American citizens—and labored not only with their hands but also their heads. The characters in “Dummie,” suggest the possibility of this upward social mobility as they are introduced as soldiers and senators. The fitness and suitability of Butler, a first-generation Irish immigrant character, for one of the highest ranks in American politics—as it was in the 1810s—imply the rightful space of the Irish in the administration of the States in mid-nineteenth century and point to the high possibility of their improvement.

After the *Pilot* works for the development of the Irish immigrant’s social and racial status with its guidance of the laborer, it directs its attention to recognition of the efforts of the Irish immigrants as they now transform into subjugated citizens because of their unacknowledged contributions to the welfare of the States. In order to create an archive to house these contributions, the *Pilot* publishes Laffan’s “Records of Irish-American Patriotism” during the Civil War. This effort turns the paper into an alternative archive, a museum—and yet another institution—since the *Pilot* fears that the fighting Irish soldiers of the Union forces will not be recognized by native-born Americans, an act that would disregard one of the biggest contributions of Irish-Americans to their adopted country. Fearing the hegemonical amnesia of the receiving country, the *Pilot* strives to collect the war memoirs of the Irish-American community and transmit them to the members of the imagined community to reinforce the national belonging of the Irish to the American nation. These records of military service merge with the animosity of the Irish towards the black man in editorials and news articles that tell of violent attacks on the latter. The paper’s racially charged rhetoric against blacks secures the whiteness of the Irish, created in opposition to blackness. Moreover, the paper’s simultaneously

patriotic rhetoric labels the Irish as useful assets to the American nation. During the Civil War, the *Pilot* serializes “Nora McIvor” and “Rosa Gaery,” both of which work to highlight the valor of Irish-American Union soldiers, similarly to “Practical Lessons.” Both stories are set at two different defeats for the Irish brigades, and through fiction, they claim the gallantry of the Irish generals and soldiers at Lexington and Fredericksburg. The Irish, in these works, perform their patriotic duty to their adopted country without a second thought, and I assume the heroic definitions of these characters and their sacrifices also acted as yet another way for the *Pilot* to guide Irish-Americans into joining the Union ranks. Therefore, this marks the immigrant’s final destination: a fully transformed Irish-American naturalized citizen, assimilated into American ways but holding on tight to his continued love for Ireland and devotion to Catholicism.

As the *Pilot* guided Irish immigrants into ideal immigrants, an ideal labor force, and ideal citizens, it also presented them to American society as ideal prospective members to enrich the culture, as ideal labor force to develop the country’s economy and sustain manpower for its developing industry, and as ideal citizens ready to sacrifice their lives for their adopted country. A full transformation from a poor immigrant escaping from hunger into a gallant soldier fighting for the country that offered him a haven in time of need, the creation of this ideal Irish-American citizen demonstrates the power of the print media of the nineteenth-century on newcomers. The immigrant’s first source of cheap and reliable information, the *Pilot*’s effort to elevate the status of the Irish race in the US as a whole by the social, racial and economic uplift of one immigrant is the product of its power as an institution. Even though the *Pilot* cannot eliminate nativist prejudices of the Irish, it manages to create an imagined community for Irish-Americans where they can come together under shared values of Catholicism, Irishness, Americanness, and whiteness. As the *Pilot* completes its simultaneous transformation from an immigrant newspaper



into an ethnic newspaper, it also reaches its maturity as an institution. The *Pilot*, now an ethnic and settled institution, says that America is a country of immigrants for “there is not a family in the land ... who can trace their American descent back eight generations”. It illustrates the controversy underlying Anglo-Saxon claims to keep the US under their monopoly and discriminating the foreigner on the grounds of being an immigrant with the words:

[i]t is extremely ungracious for men whose parents came here but a very brief period before our own did, to stand up in public places and make an invidious distinction between our status and his own; our intelligence and character, and the intelligence and character he claims for himself, belittling and underrating the men he terms foreigners as much as he over-rates and exalts those whom he terms ‘American.’<sup>1</sup>

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## Appendix

The chapters of Rev. J. O'Hanlon's "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States," provides a better understanding of its guidance, and offers a compact view of its advice and insight on a wide range of topics, such as: "Chapter I: Preliminary considerations—Rational object of emigration—Present social comforts and discomforts—Classes that should or should not emigrate—Capability of emigrating—Inconveniences of journey, privations, and change of social position in a new country—Romantic hopes and actual occurrences of emigrant life—Present state of Ireland, and uncertainty as to her future condition—General conclusion thence drawn" [*The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 1:2]. "Chapter II: Preparation for the voyage—Acts of Parliament of Great Britain and Passenger Laws of the United States—Laws of the State Legislatures—Necessary articles for use and comfort—Useless equipage—Hints for a sea voyage as to economy, stores, baggage, &c—Time for embarkation—Port of arrival" [*The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 1:5]. "Chapter III: Selection of sea port for embarkation—Passenger vessels—Price of passage—Mode of action in securing it--Making of exchanges—Impositions practiced at Liverpool—Fraternization of families or single emigrants—Regulations to secure health, comfort and cleanliness at sea—Clothing—How to proceed on arriving at the port of debarkation" [*The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 1:1]. "Chapter IV: Quarantine regulations—Emigrant societies and intelligence offices—Immediate application for employment—Waste of money and time—City, town and country employments—Warning with regard to large towns and cities—Courage in surmounting first difficulties" [*The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 1:4]. "Chapter V: Frauds practiced on emigrants—Boarding-house runners—forwarding houses and their agents—Freightage—Securing reasonable and speedy travel by inland routes" [*The Boston Pilot* April 19 1851 (14.16) 1:6]. "Chapter VI: Routes and distances

through the United States—Fares in English and American currency—Rail-road cars, canal boats, river steamboats, stage coaches and other vehicles—Boarding houses and taverns—Rents and modes of living in town and country” [*The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 2:2] “Chapter VII: Tracts and Works on the United States, the most reliable and easily obtained in this country and in Ireland—Continued changes going on in the Old and New States—Allowances to be made for accounts long published—Undeveloped resources” [*The Boston Pilot* 26 Apr. 1851 (14.17) 1:1]. “Chapter VIII: Different kinds of labor—Public works and their abuses—City works and manufactories—Mining—Steamboats—Mechanical employment and wages—Agricultural labor and wages by the day, month and year—Differences of agricultural labor in free and slave states” [*The Boston Pilot* 26 Apr. 1851 (14.17) 1:2]. “Chapter IX: Previous knowledge of local resources and impediments in application for employment—Accountants and educated persons—Currency, exchanges, banks, &c.—Store payments—Promissory notes” [*The Boston Pilot* 26 Apr. 1851 (14.17) 1:5]. “Chapter X: Farming—Its recommendation as a pursuit, to the Irish agricultural emigrant—Public land and its mode of entry—Partial improvements and opened farms—Opportunities for purchase—Renting and farming on shares—General condition of the Irish agricultural settler” [*The Boston Pilot* 3 May 1851 (14.18) 1:1]. “Chapter XI: House-raising, Fencing, Farm-stocking—Agricultural implements” [*The Boston Pilot* 10 May 1851 (14.19) 1:1]. “Chapter XII: Healthiness of climate—Situation and location—Nearness to church, schools, mill, markets, &c—Speculations arising from the probability of future public improvements—Nature of soil—Woods and prairie lands—Trees, an indication of the quality of soil—Water—Remarks on the prevalence of fever and ague—Prevention and Remedies” [*The Boston Pilot* 10 May 1851 (14.19) 1:3]. “Chapter XIII: California emigration—Gains and losses—Difficulties of routes—Hard mode of living—Time and place for outfit—Oregon and

the Territories of the United States” [*The Boston Pilot* 17 May 1851 (14.20) 1:1]. “Chapter XIV: General notes and statistics of the different States, from observation and most correct accounts—Inferences to be drawn therefrom by the several classes of emigrants—Suggestions” [*The Boston Pilot* 24 May 1851 (14.21) 1:1]. “Chapter XV: General observations—The United States and their resources—The manner, habits and character of the people—Necessity of assimilation in a great degree on the part of the emigrant—Most noted and objectionable traits of Irish character—Preservation of religious principles and independence” [*The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:1]. “Chapter XVI: Private, public and social duties—Neighborly offices—Naturalization—Civic and political privileges, and their exercise—Political information and its acquisition—Educational efforts” [*The Boston Pilot* 7 June 1851 (14.23) 1:1]. “Chapter XVII: First difficulties of settlers—Single emigrants and families—Letter-writing and its exaggerations—Mode of transmitting passage money and remittances—Colonization and combination to effect emigration, as regards Irish emigrants” [*The Boston Pilot* 14 June 1851 (14.24) 1:1]. “Chapter XVIII: Emigrants societies—Officers to be selected, and their duties—Branch societies—Hints on the subject of procuring circumstantial information and statistics regarding products, labor, wages, &c. —Information, whence obtained—Associations to elevate the moral position and promote the temporal prospects of Irishmen in the United States—Conclusion” [*The Boston Pilot* 14 June 1851 (14.24) 1:3].

## Notes

### Notes to Introduction

1. "1863! Our New Year Prospectus." *The Pilot* 13 Dec. 1862 (25.50) 4:2
2. "Republication of the Pilot." *The Boston Pilot* 27 Jan. 1838 (1.1) 5:2.
3. "Volume Fifth." *The Boston Pilot* 25 Dec 1841 (4.52) 424:1.
4. "Our New Volume." *The Boston Pilot* 3 Jan. 1846 (9.1) 6:4.
5. "Our Pronunciamento For '54." *The Boston Pilot* 31 Dec. 1853 (16.53) 8:1.
6. "The Largest Catholic Paper in the United States." *The Pilot* 7 Jan. 1860 (23.1) 1:1.
7. Henceforth the *Pilot*.
8. For some of the scholarship that mentions the *Pilot* briefly, see: Apollinaris W. Baumgartner. *Catholic Journalism; a Study of Its Development in the United States, 1789-1930*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Print; Charles Fanning. ed. *The Exiles of Erin: Nineteenth-Century Irish-American Fiction*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987; Joseph Lee, and Marion R. Casey. *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*. New York: New York University Press, 2006; Kerby A. Miller. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. 1985. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. Print; Joseph P O'Grady. *How the Irish Became Americans?* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973. Print. The Immigrant Heritage of America Series.
9. Francis Robert Walsh (also known as Frank Walsh), who later became a history professor at the University of Lowell wrote the only dissertation that was specifically about the *Pilot*. Walsh's 1968 dissertation is named "The 'Boston Pilot': A Newspaper For The Irish Immigrant, 1829-1908." In this dissertation, he analyzes subjects such as nativism, whiteness, Civil War along with the history of the Boston Pilot. A second dissertation is written by Robert B.

Winkowski in 1988 and is entitled “The American Catholic Press as an Instrument of Social Education in the Emergence of Nazism.” This dissertation, submitted to the School of Education, looks at the Boston Pilot as one of the eight newspapers that represent dioceses. He focuses on the issues of these eight newspapers from December 1932 to January 1934. He analyzes the responses of the Catholic press to the ascendancy of the Third Reich in a context of social education. For other dissertations about the *Pilot*, please see: David Jerome Callon. “Converting Catholicism: Orestes A. Brownson, Anna H. Dorsey, and Irish America, 1840-1896.” 2008, Washington University in St. Louis. Dissertation, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global – ProQuest.; John French. “Irish-American Identity, Memory, and Americanism During the Eras of the Civil War and First World War.” 2012, Marquette University. [epublication.marquette.edu](http://epublication.marquette.edu).

### **Notes to Chapter I**

1. The *Pilot* 10 Dec. 1864 (27.50) 4:4.

2. For some of these resources that list the Pilot under religious papers or mentions it as a Catholic paper, please see: The Directory of the City of Boston: Embracing the City Record, A General Directory of the Citizens, and A Special Directory of Trades, Professions, &c. with an Almanac from July 1850, to July 1851. Boston: George Adams, 1850; Geo P. Rowell & Co’s American Newspaper Directory, Containing Accurate Lists of All the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the United States and Territories, and in the Dominion of Canada, and British Colonies of North America; Together with A Description of the Towns and Cities in Which They Are Published. New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1869; The Census of Massachusetts: 1875 Volume II Manufactures and Occupations. Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1877.

3. The information offered by the Archdiocese of Boston, and Baumgartner on the history of

the *Pilot* show differences. Baumgartner mentions that the paper changed its name to *Catholic Intelligencer* only after four months of its first publication. Similar to this one, there are other date related mistakes in Baumgartner's book since he also mentions that the *Jesuit* was republished in January 1832. He also states that on 27 December 1834 the paper had yet another name change to *Irish and Catholic Sentinel*, which later became *Literary and Catholic Sentinel* almost a year later. The paper, however, never bore the title *Irish or Catholic Sentinel*. The correct publication names and dates retrieved from the sources at Boston College Libraries online database are as follows: *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel* (5 Sept. 1829-27 Aug. 1831); *U.S. Catholic Intelligencer* (1 Oct. 1831-21 Sept. 1832); *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel* (5 Jan. 1833-27 Dec. 1834); *Literary and Catholic Sentinel* (3 Jan. 1835-26 Dec. 1835). The following dates are gathered from the copies of the paper retrieved from the online database of Center for Research Libraries: *The Boston Pilot* (2 Jan. 1836-7 Jan. 1837). After a short recess, *The Boston Pilot* continues publication on 27 Jan. 1838 until 26 Dec. 1857, and goes under one last name change on 2 Jan. 1858 and becomes *The Pilot*, and continues its publication life under that name currently.

4. Foik says that the reason for the disruption of the publication was the deaths of Pepper and Bartlett (169). Lord, on the other hand, states that Pepper died on May 13, 1837 due to his declining health; whereas Bartlett died suddenly and unexpectedly on March 13, 1840 at the age of 29 (336).

5. "Republication of the *Pilot*." *The Boston Pilot* 27 Jan. 1838 (1.1) 5:2.

6. Auditor's Report. James T. Murphy v. The Pilot Publishing Co., 16 Oct. 1909, *Pilot* Files; James T. Murphy Case (Archives, Archdiocese of Boston), Box 1, Folder 5.

7. "A Century of Service to God and Country." *The Pilot Centenary Edition*, 8 Mar. 1930.



8 For some of the scholarship that mentions editor names in more detail, please see: Paul Joseph Foik. *Pioneer Catholic Journalism*. Monograph Series (United States Catholic Historical Society); v. 11. Greenwood Press, 1969. Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton and Edward T. Harrington. *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the various Stages of Its Development, 1604 to 1943*. Sheed & Ward, 1944. 3 vols.; Francis Walsh. "The 'Boston Pilot': A Newspaper For The Irish Immigrant, 1829-1908." Dissertation, Boston University, 1968.

9. I got a copy of the *Pilot*, dating 10 Feb. 2017, on my return from the research at the Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston. As a matter of great consequence, the front page featured the picture of a religious service with the title, "Cardinal expresses solidarity with the immigrants." Even though the paper's proprietorship belongs to the Archdiocese, its connection to the immigrant communities continues. This number also features articles celebrating "Black history month," which shows great difference from the anti-abolitionist characteristic of the paper in mid-nineteenth century. This constant progress originates from the essentiality of change within the institution in addressing the period.

10. *The Pilot* 4 Jan. 1873 (36.1) 3:3.

11. *The Boston Pilot* 27 Jan. 1838 (1.1) 1.

12. "Volume Fifth." *The Boston Pilot* 25 Dec. 1841 (4.52) 424:1.

13. "To Our Readers." *The Boston Pilot* 1 Jan. 1848 (11.1) 5:5.

14. "Eighteen Hundred and Fifty Four." *The Boston Pilot* 7 Jan. 1854 (17.1) 4:1.

15. "Our New Head." *The Pilot* 2 Jan. 1869 (32.1) 4:2.

16. O'Connell, William. "The *Pilot's* Hundredth Anniversary by His Eminence the Cardinal." *The Pilot Centenary Edition* 8 Mar. 1930.

17. "A Century of Service to God and Country." *The Pilot Centenary Edition* 8 Mar. 1930.

18. "The City Advertising." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 6:2.
19. "Irish Emigrant Society." *The Boston Pilot* 6 July 1850 (13.27) 7:6.
20. More, Hannah. "Novel Reading." *The Boston Pilot* 4 Jan. 1840 (11.50) 409:1.
21. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke, or The Irish Orphan in America." *The Boston Pilot* 13 July 1850 (13.28) 1:1.
22. Anonymous. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 3 Feb. 1855 (18.5) 3:2.
23. "A Map of Busy Life." *The Boston Pilot* 28 Oct. 1854 (17.43) 6:1.
24. "Daniel Webster on Immigration." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 3:5.
25. "Irish Emigrant Society." *The Boston Pilot* 24 Apr. 1852 (15.17) 5:3.
26. The website offers an extensive collection of this column with 41,249 records available for online research. For more, please see: <https://infowanted.bc.edu>
27. "Information Wanted." *The Boston Pilot* 2 Sept. 1854 (17.35) 3:1.
28. "Information Wanted." *The Boston Pilot* 21 July 1855 (18.29) 8:6.
29. Shamrock. "The Pilot—And Other Matters." *The Pilot* 2 Jan. 1864 (27.1) 2:1.
30. G.H.L. "The 'Journal' and the Jews." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:3.
31. "Remarks." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:4.
32. Nichols T.L. to Bishop Fitzpatrick, 27 June 1849; Fitzpatrick Papers [Archives, Archdiocese of Boston], 3.1.
33. John Bennett. "Make up the Hundred Thousand!" *The Boston Pilot* 27 May 1854 (17.21) 6:1.
34. "Our Paper." *The Boston Pilot* 10 Aug 1850 (13.32) 7:2.
35. Patrick H. M. Cawley. "Letters from the People." *The Boston Pilot* 29 July 1854 (17.30)

6:1.

36. McGrane, T. "White Slavery on the Troy and Rutland Railroad." *The Boston Pilot* 3 Aug. 1850 (13.31) 6:4.

37. Ryan, J. "Bad Treatment of Laborers: Troy And Ruthland, and Troy and Greenfield Railroads." *The Boston Pilot* 7 June 1851 (14.23) 3:4.

38. McGrane, T. "White Slavery on the Troy and Rutland Railroad." *The Boston Pilot* 3 Aug. 1850 (13.31) 6:4.

### **Notes to Chapter II**

1. "No Irish Need Apply." *The Pilot* 30 Apr. 1864 (27.18) 4:2.

2. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 1:3.

3. Hence "The Irish Emigrant's Guide."

4. Hence "Willy Burke."

5. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 5 Apr. 1851 (14.14) 6:2.

6. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 1:3.

7. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 7:1.

8. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 14 June 1851 (14.24) 3:3.

9. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 1:1.

10. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:3.

11. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:5.

12. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:3.

13. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:3.

14. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 7  
June 1851 (14.23) 1:2.

15. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 7  
June 1851 (14.23) 1:2.

16. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 1:5.

17. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
26 Apr. 1851 (14.17) 1:2.

18. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:4.

19. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
26 Apr. 1851 (14.17) 1:5.

20. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*  
26 Apr. 1851 (14.17) 1:5.

21. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot*

10 May 1851 (14.19) 1:4.

22. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:5.

23. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:5.

24. "The 50 Dollar Prize Tale." *The Boston Pilot* 8 June 1850 (13.23) 1:1.

25. "The 50 Dollar Prize Tale." *The Boston Pilot* 8 June 1850 (13.23) 1:1.

26. "Chapter I: The Departure from Ireland, and Death at Sea." *The Boston Pilot* 15 June 1850 (13.24) 1:1; "Chapter II: Poverty And Temptation." *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 1:1; "Chapter III: Honesty the Best Policy." *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 2:1; "Chapter IV: The Broken Heart." *The Boston Pilot* 29 June 1850 (13.26) 1:1; "Chapter V: A Mother's Death bed." *The Boston Pilot* 29 June 1850 (13.26) 1:1; "Chapter VI: The Brothers in Their New Situation." *The Boston Pilot* 6 July 1850 (13.27) 1:1; "Chapter VII: The Fourth of July—Pocket Money." *The Boston Pilot* 13 July 1850 (13.28) 1:1; "Chapter VIII: Persecution." *The Boston Pilot* 20 July 1850 (13.29) 1:1; "Chapter IX: Willy Begins To Find Favor In Mr. Weimar's Sight." *The Boston Pilot* 20 July 1850 (13.29) 2:2; "Chapter X: The Crucifix." *The Boston Pilot* 27 July 1850 (13.30) 1:5; "Chapter XI: The Revenge." *The Boston Pilot* 10 Aug. 1850 (13.32) 1:1; "Chapter XII: Willy Burke's Legacy." *The Boston Pilot* 17 Aug. 1850 (13.33) 1:1.

27. "Things of Special Note." *The Boston Pilot* 14 Sept. 1850 (13.37) 6:5.

28. These stories are published under "Short Tales For Children" [i.e., on 2 Jan. 1858 (21.1) 7:7], or "Short Parables for Youth" [i.e., on 1 May 1858 (21.18) 7:7]. The *Pilot* occasionally publishes riddles and funny stories, especially towards the last pages of the numbers, which I

think aimed to entertain the young generations of Irish-Americans. A future research on these short stories, most of which do not surpass a few short paragraphs can offer an insight to how the *Pilot* idealized the youth and children of Irish-Americans through these stories.

29. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 15 June 1850 (13.24) 1:1.

30. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 15 June 1850 (13.24) 2:1.

31. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 15 June 1850 (13.24) 1:3-6.

32. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 15 June 1850 (13.24) p. 1:2-3.

33. Since the Irish and black women competed for the same domestic service jobs, the sphere of domestic service became a battleground that further deepened the connection between race, color, faith and servitude.

34. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 1:4.

35. It is plausible to say that Brownson's call for the writing of this novel also plays an important role for the representation of these gender roles. Because when Brownson asks for such a tale to be written, he says, "we are not among those who think lightly of female intellect, female piety and worth, and we willingly accord to woman in her own sphere equality with man." ["The 50 Dollar Prize Tale." *The Boston Pilot* 8 June 1850 (13.23) 1:1.] Brownson states that he believes in the equality of the female as long as the female stays within the boundaries of her gender.

36. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 1:4.
37. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 13 July 1850 (13.28) 1:3.
38. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 20 July 1850 (13.29) 1:5.
39. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 27 July 1850 (13.30) 1:2.
40. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 1:5.
41. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 1:5.
42. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 17 Aug. 1850 (13.33) 1:5.
43. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 17 Aug. 1850 (13.33) 2:1.
44. "Kossuth and the Irish Exiles: The Duty of the American Government." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 5:5.
45. "Kossuth and the Irish Exiles: The Duty of the American Government." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 5:5.
46. "The Slave Case." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 3:5.
47. "That Woman Not Gone." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 6:2.
48. "Kossuth and the Irish Exiles." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 5:2.

49. "Purchase of A White Boy by A Parson." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 7:2.
50. "Purchase of A White Boy by A Parson." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 7:2.
51. Tighe, John. "Lessons on Naturalization." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 6:4.
52. "Naturalise! Naturalise!" *The Boston Pilot* 10 May 1851 (14.19) 7:3.
53. "The Late Outrage at Southbridge, Mass." *The Boston Pilot* 17 May 1851 (14.20) 5:4.
54. "The Late Outrage at Southbridge, Mass." *The Boston Pilot* 17 May 1851 (14.20) 5:5.
55. "The Killing of Desmond." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 6:3.
56. "The Killing of Desmond." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 6:3.
57. "The Abduction of Mrs. Sullivan." *The Boston Pilot* 7 June 1851 (14.23) 6:2.
58. "Free-Soilism." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:1.
59. "Free-Soilism." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:1.
60. "Free-Soilism." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:2.
61. "Free-Soilism." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:2.
62. "Free-Soilism." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:3.
63. "Free-Soilism." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 5:3.
64. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:3.
65. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:4.
66. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 13 July 1850 (13.28) 1:4.
67. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; Or, the Irish Orphan in America" *The Boston Pilot* 17 Aug. 1850 (13.33) 1:6.



68. O'Hanlon suggests the immigrants to bring certain amounts of potato, bread, flour, oatmeal, meat and dried fish, eggs, butter, tea, coffee, chocolate, treacle, sugar, white pudding, rice, pepper, mustard, orange, lemon, cheese, turnip, carrot, parsnip, onion, vinegar, hard oatmeal cakes, and medicine such as castor oil, Epsom salt, rhubarb and pills [*The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 2:2]. Even though he demonstrates this list as enough for one person on a voyage of ten weeks, it would not be realistic to assume that many would be able to obtain all the food suggested here.

69. Tighe, John. "Lessons on Naturalization." *The Boston Pilot* 10 May 1851 (14.19) 2:4.

70. Tighe, John. "Lessons on Naturalization." *The Boston Pilot* 10 May 1851 (14.19) 2:4.

71. Tighe, John. "Lessons on Naturalization." *The Boston Pilot* 24 May 1851 (14.21) 4:1.

72. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 31 May 1851 (14.22) 1:1.

73. Gillin, Edward. "The West." *The Boston Pilot* 10 May 1851 (14.19) 4:1.

### Notes to Chapter III

1. Hence "Practical Lessons."

2. On a speculative note, I assume that the author of this series is Patrick Donahoe, the proprietor; or John Roddan, the editor. The use of "we," in reference to the *Pilot*, and the similarity of the rhetoric with editorials make this speculation possible, but still does not confirm it.

3. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 10 Mar. 1855 (18.10) 3:3.

4. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 24 June 1854 (17.25) 3:2.

5. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 30 Sept. 1854 (17.39) 3:3.

6. Unfortunately, the two reels of microfilm that have copies of “Dummie” are in really bad shape; the writings are indistinguishable and almost illegible. The archives of the Archdiocese of Boston housed in Boston College Libraries do not hold any copies of the *Pilot* from 1855 either. Therefore, I had to study with the only digital copy of the newspaper available, even though a big part of the numbers from December, January and February were illegible, making it impossible to read some instalments of “Dummie” and “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” Dorsey’s work is serialized in eleven instalments, and six of these are partly illegible. In some of these illegible instalments, it is possible to read at least half or more than half of the work, whereas in some only a few paragraphs are legible. The following numbers of the *Pilot* have the illegible instalments: 6 Jan. 1855 (18.1); 13 Jan. 1855 (18.2); 20 Jan. 1855 (18.3); 10 Feb. 1855 (18.6); 17 Feb. 1855 (18.7); 10 Mar. 1855 (18.10).

7. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 6 Jan. 1855 (18.1) 1:1.

8. For some of these cartoons that reflect on the Irish stereotype’s conduct with African-Americans, and their negative stereotypical representation please see: Unknown Artist. “How to Escape the Draft.” *Harper’s Weekly* 1 Aug. 1863, p. 496; Unknown Artist. “Holy Horror of Mrs. McCaffraty” *Harper’s Weekly* 24 Feb. 1866, p. 128; Nast, Thomas. “The Day We Celebrate.” *Harper’s Weekly* 6 Apr. 1867, p. 212; Nast, Thomas. “This is A White Man’s Government.” *Harper’s Weekly* 5 Sept. 1868, p. 568; Nast, Thomas. “All the Difference in the World.” *Harper’s Weekly* 26 Sept. 1868, p. 616; Fox, Stanley. “The Riot at Elm Park.” *Harper’s Weekly* 30 July 1870, p. 492; Nast, Thomas. “The Chinese Question.” *Harper’s Weekly* 18 Feb. 1871, p. 149; Nast, Thomas. Nast, Thomas. “Something that will not Blow Over.” *Harper’s Weekly* 29 July 1871, p. 697; “The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things.” *Harper’s Weekly* 2 Sept. 1871, p. 824; Nast, Thomas. “The Ignorant Vote.” *Harper’s Weekly* 9 Dec. 1876, cover cartoon; Nast,

Thomas. "The Greatest of American Intimidators North and South." *Harper's Weekly* 7 Nov. 1883, p. 725; Nast, Thomas. "Another Investigation Committee." *Harper's Weekly* 31 Jan. 1880, cover cartoon; Keppler, Joseph. "Uncle Sam's Lodging-House." *Puck* 7 June 1882, centerpiece.

9. The author signs the book under the pseudonym "Gershom." However, sources such as Worldcat, Google Books and Archive. Org state that Gershom is the pseudonym for Alfred George Goodwyn.

10. For some of the studies that mention whiteness as a status offering economic, social, and racial power, please see: Valerie Babb, *The Meaning of Whiteness*; Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People*; David Roediger *Working Toward Whiteness*; etc. For some of the studies that point to the construction of whiteness as a racial status created in opposition to blackness, please see: Eric Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness*; David Roediger *The Wages of Whiteness*; Richard Williams *Hierarchical Structures and Social Value: The Creation of Black and Irish Identities in the US*; Karen Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks*; Noel Ignatiev *How The Irish Became White*. But there are also studies that reject both views such as Kevin Kenny's *The American Irish: A History*, in which he says, "But to argue, as some historians do, that the Irish 'opted for' or 'chose' whiteness, deliberately distancing themselves from African Americans in order to advance themselves socially, seems unnecessarily abstract and tends to overestimate the degree of conscious agency involved in the process" (67). I do not agree with Kenny in his opinion that identifying the whitening process as an option overestimates the agency of the Irish. In my analysis of the *Pilot*, I saw numerous examples where the paper positions the Irish as white in opposition to blackness with the aim of improving them socially, culturally, and economically.

11. In a short series of letters, which I will mention in the following pages, the subject of

help vs. servant is mentioned in the *Pilot* in a letter written by an Irish servant girl writing under the name Bridget in response to a letter published in the *Boston Transcript*. The author of the letter published in the *Transcript* mentions how “American servants” could be hired instead of Irish servants. And Bridget replies to this statement saying how outrageous it would be to speak of American help as servants: “I should like to stand by and see our mother confessor call of them American help a *servant*. There would be high life above stairs, I’m thinking.” This letter can be found on the *Boston Pilot* under the title “Troubles in Families.” 21 Feb. 1852 (15.8) 7:2.

12. “Male Waiters.” *The Boston Pilot* 3 Feb. 1855 (18.5) 3:1.

13. Hasia Diner’s *Erin’s Daughters in America* also mentions the advantages of domestic service when compared to other vocations, such as textile mills and laundry business (90).

14. Bridget. “A Letter from ‘Bridget’ in reply to ‘Veritas’ in the Transcript.” *The Boston Pilot* 14 Feb. 1852 (15.7) 5:6.

15. Bridget. “Troubles in Families.” *The Boston Pilot* 28 Feb. 1852 (15.9) 6:6.

16. “The War of Race and Sect.” *The Boston Pilot* 29 July 1854 (17.30) 2:1.

17. “Knock Them Down.” *The Boston Pilot* 29 July 1854 (17.30) 4:2.

18. “Answers to Correspondents.” *The Boston Pilot* 7 April 1855 (18.14) 3:2.

19. “The Irish Servant Girls of New York and the Draft.” *The Pilot* 15 Aug. 1863 (26.33) 4:2.

20. “The Irish Servant Girls of New York and the Draft.” *The Pilot* 15 Aug. 1863 (26.33) 4:2.

21. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 5 Aug. 1854 (17.31) 3:3.

22. “Wants.” *The Pilot* 19 Nov. 1864 (27.47) 8:5.

23. “Wants.” *The Pilot* 6 Feb. 1864 (27.6) 8:5.

24. O'Hanlon, John. "The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States." *The Boston Pilot* 17 May 1851 (14.20) 1:1.
25. "Strike on the Rutland and Kennebec Railroad." *The Boston Pilot* 19 Apr. 1851 (14.16) 6:2.
26. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 6 Jan. 1855 (18.1) 3:7.
27. "500 Laborers Wanted." *The Boston Pilot* 3 May 1851 (14.18) 7:6.
28. "Emigrants Wanted." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 2:1.
29. "How Shall Emigrants Best Establish Themselves in the U.S.?" *The Pilot* 23 Jan. 1864 (27.4) 4:2.
30. "How Shall Emigrants Best Establish Themselves in the U.S.?" *The Pilot* 23 Jan. 1864 (27.4) 4:3.
31. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 15 Apr. 1854 (17.15) 3:2.
32. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 15 Apr. 1854 (17.15) 3:4.
33. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 15 Apr. 1854 (17.15) 3:4.
34. *The Boston Pilot* 24 June 1854 (17.25) 3:1.
35. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 17 June 1854 (17.24) 3:2.
36. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 15 Apr. 1854 (17.15) 3:2.
37. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 29 Apr. 1854 (17.17) 3:2.
38. "Hatred of Foreigner." *The Boston Pilot* 5 Aug. 1854 (17.31) 2:2.
39. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 7 Oct. 1854 (17.40) 3:1.
40. "Immigrant Labor." *The Boston Pilot* 27 Jan. 1855 (18.4) 5:7.
41. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 14 Oct. 1854 (17.41) 3:3.
42. "Letters from Railroad Laborers." *The Boston Pilot* 22 Apr. 1854 (17.16) 4:6-7.

43. "Pacific Railroad." *The Boston Pilot* 3 June 1854 (17.22) 3:2.
44. P.B. "Pacific Railroad." *The Boston Pilot* 15 July 1854 (17.28) 4:3.
45. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 13 May 1854 (17.19) 5:3.
46. "How Shall Emigrants Best Establish Themselves in the U.S.?" *The Pilot* 23 Jan. 1864 (27.4) 4:3.
47. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 10 June 1854 (17.23) 6:1.
48. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 24 June 1854 (17.25) 3:2.
49. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 17 Mar. 1855 (18.11) 3:5.
50. "Naturalize! Naturalize!!" *The Boston Pilot* 13 May 1854 (17.19) 4:2.
51. "America for Americans." *The Boston Pilot* 18 Nov. 1854 (17.46) 1:7.
52. "America for Americans." *The Boston Pilot* 18 Nov. 1854 (17.46) 1:7.
53. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 23 Sept. 1854 (17.38) 3:2.
54. "Know-Nothings Counted." *The Boston Pilot* 3 June 1854 (17.22) 5:3.
55. "The Riot in Lawrence—As We Expected." *The Boston Pilot* 15 July 1854 (17.28) 8:2.
56. "The Know-Nothing Riot in Lawrence." *The Boston Pilot* 22 July 1854 (17.29) 3:6.
57. The correspondent uses 'Wasp' as a pun to refer to *The Bee*, an anti-Irish paper with which the *Pilot* was in constant argument.
58. "Outrage." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Aug. 1854 (17.32) 4:6.
59. "No Irish Need Apply." *The Boston Pilot* 30 Sept. 1854 (17.39) 5:7.
60. "Security Against Pauper Immigrants." *The Boston Pilot* 3 Mar. 1855 (18.9) 1:4.
61. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 20 May 1854 (17.20) 3:1.

62. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 26 Aug. 1854 (17.34) 3:3.
63. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 30 Sept. 1854 (17.39) 3:3.
64. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 9 Sept. 1854 (17.36) 3:4.
65. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 3 Mar. 1855 (18.9) 3:5.
66. "Honest Labor." *The Boston Pilot* 21 Oct. 1854 (17.42) 2:4.
67. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 27 May 1854 (17.21) 3:2.
68. Mulloy, Thomas. "Wants: One Hundred Men Wanted." *The Boston Pilot* 25 Nov. 1854 (17.47) 8:1.
69. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 1 July 1854 (17.26) 3:3.
70. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 29 July 1854 (17.30) 3:1.
71. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 30 Sept. 1854 (17.39) 3:3.
72. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 7 Oct. 1854 (17.40) 3:1.
73. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Aug. 1854 (17.32) 6:1.
74. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 15 July 1854 (17.28) 3:3.
75. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 5 Aug. 1854 (17.31) 3:3.
76. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 24 Mar. 1855 (18.12) 3:3.
77. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 21 Apr. 1855 (18.16) 3:5.
78. "Practical Lessons for the Working Classes." *The Boston Pilot* 14 Oct. 1854 (17.41) 3:3.

79. The *Boston Pilot* publishes a short series named “Strikes,” comprised of fourteen instalments from 30 Apr. 1853 (16.18) to 30 July 1853 (16.31). This series addresses the questions around the ten-hour system and higher wage demands. A future research on this series may reveal a more detailed picture of the *Pilot*’s attitude towards different areas of labor, and labor rights.

80. “Strikes.” *The Boston Pilot* 7 May 1853 (16.19) 4:2.

81. “The Glorious Fourth.” *The Boston Pilot* 1 July 1854 (17.26) 4:7.

82. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 3 June 1854 (17.22) 3:4.

83. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 17 Mar. 1855 (18.11) 3:5.

84. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 2 Dec. 1854 (17.48) 3:1.

85. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 2 Sept. 1854 (17.35) 3:2.

86. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 28 Oct. 1854 (17.43) 3:3.

87. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 4 Nov. 1854 (17.44) 6:1-2.

88. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 23 Dec. 1854 (17.51) 3:1.

89. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 9 Dec. 1854 (17.49) 3:5.

90. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 11 Nov. 1854 (17.45) 3:4.

91. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 25 Nov. 1854 (17.47) 3:2.

92. “Practical Lessons for the Working Classes.” *The Boston Pilot* 3 Feb. 1855 (18.5) 6:1.

93. Even though Callon claims that his study is the most extensive on Dorsey’s works, he



does not mention “Dummie” except for its publication dates. [Possibly because of a typography he incorrectly mentions the publication dates as 6 Jan. 1855- 7 Mar. 1855; and again with another typo gives the volume and number as 16.1-18.11, which actually is 18.1-18.11].

94. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 3 Feb. 1855 (18.5) 1:1.
95. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 6 Jan. 1855 (18.1) 1:3.
96. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 10 Feb. 1855 (18.6) 1:1-2.
97. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 3 Mar. 1855 (18.9) 1:1.
98. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 17 Mar. 1855 (18.11) 5:1.
99. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 6 Jan. 1855 (18.1) 1:2.
100. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 17 Mar. 1855 (18.11) 5:1.
101. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 17 Feb. 1855 (18.7) 1:1.
102. Dorsey, Anna H. “Dummie.” *The Boston Pilot* 17 Feb. 1855 (18.7) 1:1.
103. O’Hanlon, John. “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide for the United States.” *The Boston Pilot* 7 June 1851 (14.23) 1:2.
104. Smith, Barnard. “Letters from the People.” *The Boston Pilot* 10 Feb. 1855 (18.6) 6:1.

#### **Notes to Chapter IV**

1. “What are the Irish Catholics Fighting For?” *The Pilot* 22 Apr. 1865 (28.16) 2:1.
2. “Proscription in Rhode Island.” *The Pilot* 27 Sept. 1862 (25.39) 3:6.
3. The series appeared in 172 numbers in total.
4. In *Pioneer Catholic Journalism*, Paul J. Foik states that Hennessy used Laffan as his penname when he wrote his “papers on Irish-American history and genealogy” (172).
5. Hennessy, Michael. “Records of Irish-American Patriotism.” *The Pilot* 27 Sept. 1862

(25.39) 2:1.

6. Hence “Rosa Gaery,”

7. Hence “Nora McIvor.”

8. By Irish patriotism, I refer to the patriotism of Irish-Americans in the Civil War. Although Fenianism was on the rise at the moment, I do not refer to Fenianism and Fenian Brotherhood, limiting this study to the Irish national loyalty to the US. I choose not to look at the patriotic sentiments of Irish-Americans for Ireland, in order to concentrate on their inclusion policy to the US through the Civil War. However, the study of the Fenian Brotherhood would make up the foundation of another study, because even though the *Pilot* discourages an open attachment to Ireland in previous printed material (such as in O’Hanlon’s “The Irish Emigrant’s Guide”), with the rise of the Fenian Movement, the paper spares its pages to reporting its progress. An analysis of this contradiction in the *Pilot*’s policy over the years, would offer an opinion on the changing ideas of the paper in relation to nationalism and the emigrant’s relation to his country in more patriotic terms. The articles on Fenianism are on the rise starting from 1864, and before that time the general focus of the paper is on reporting the Civil War. Many of the articles published are resolutions from the meetings of Irish-American Fenians, letters corresponding the contents of the Fenian Circle meetings. For some of these articles, please see: “Headquarters of the Fenian brotherhood.” *The Pilot* 9 Jan. 1864 (27.2) 2:1; “Fenian Brotherhood: A Circular from Rt. Rev. Bishop Duggan Denouncing the Brotherhood.” *The Pilot* 20 Feb. 1864 (27.8) 4:4; “Fenian Circles.” *The Pilot* 17 Dec. 1864 (27.51) 2:4; “Fenianism.” *The Pilot* 21 Jan. 1865 (28.3) 4:4; “The Fenian Organization in America.” *The Pilot* 25 Feb. 1865 (28.8) 3:6; “Spread of Fenianism.” *The Pilot* 22 Apr. 1865 (28.16) 3:3; “The Ancient Fenians.” *The Pilot* 6 May 1865 (28.18) 3:6.

9. "Proportion of the Irish in the War." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 4:5.
10. "The Irish in the Army.—Why is the Gallant Shields Shelved?" *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 4:6.
11. "Catholics and the War." *The Pilot* 18 Apr. 1863 (26.16) 4:2.
12. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 5:1.
13. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 5:1.
14. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 4 Oct. 1862 (25.40) 5:1.
15. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 11 Oct. 1862 (25.41) 5:1.
16. "Proportion of the Irish in the War." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 4:5.
17. "The Irish in the Army.—Why is the Gallant Shields Shelved?" *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 4:7.
18. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.44) 5:1.
19. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 11 Oct. 1862 (25.41) 5:1.
20. "Emigrants Wanted." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 2:1.
21. "The Irish in Massachusetts." *The Pilot* 30 Jan. 1864 (27.5) 4:3.
22. "The Irish in Massachusetts." *The Pilot* 30 Jan. 1864 (27.5) 4:3.
23. "A New Feature." *The Pilot* 30 Dec. 1865 (28.52) 4:2.

24. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 6 Jan. 1866 (29.1) 5:1.
25. Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 13 Jan. 1862 (29.2) 5:1.
26. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade" was serialized between 5 July 1862, and 8 Nov. 1862.
27. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War" was serialized between 2 Jan. 1864, and 27 Feb. 1864.
28. McG, M.C. "The Fall of Lexington." *The Pilot* 5 Oct. 1861 (24.40) 1:6.
29. Hennessy, Michael. "Reports of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 27 Dec. 1862 (25.52) 5:1.
30. Hennessy, Michael. "Reports of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 27 Dec. 1862 (25.52) 5:2.
31. Adams, Simon. "Battle of Fredericksburg." Encyclopædia Britannica date accessed 4 Feb. 2018. Date published 23 Oct. 2017.
32. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 4 Oct. 1862 (25.40) 1:4.
33. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 5 July 1862 (25.27) 1:1.
34. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 12 July 1862 (25.28) 1:2.
35. "Rights of Women." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 5:3.
36. "Rights of Women." *The Boston Pilot* 12 Apr. 1851 (14.15) 5:3.
37. Sadlier, Mary A. "Willy Burke; or, The Irish Orphan in America." *The Boston Pilot* 22 June 1850 (13.25) 1:2.
38. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 11 Oct. 1862 (25.41) 1:1.

39. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 25 Oct. 1862 (25.43) 1:5.
40. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 1:2.
41. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 1:2.
42. "Gen. Fremont to be Deposed." *The Pilot* 28 Sept. 1861 (24.39) 1:7.
43. "War News." *The Pilot* 5 Oct. 1861 (24.40) 1:5.
44. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 2 Jan. 1864 (27.1) 1:1.
45. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 2 Jan. 1864 (27.1) 1:6-7.
46. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 2 Jan. 1864 (27.1) 1:3.
47. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 9 Jan. 1864 (27.2) 1:2.
48. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 9 Jan. 1864 (27.2) 1:4.
49. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 23 Jan. 1864 (27.4) 1:3.
50. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 23 Jan. 1864 (27.4) 1:2.
51. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 6 Feb. 1864 (27.6) 1:4.
52. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 30 Jan. 1864 (27.5) 1:1-2.

53. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 20 Feb. 1864 (27.8) 1:1.

54. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 1:2.

55. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 27 Feb. 1864 (27.9) 1:3.

56. "The Irish Press on the Slaughter of the Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg." *The Pilot* 14 Feb. 1863 (26.7) 4:4.

57. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 1:2.

58. "Rosa Gaery; or, the Lady of the Brigade." *The Pilot* 23 Aug. 1862 (25.34) 1:3.

59. "Nora McIvor; or, The Heroine of Fredericksburg. A Tale of the Irish Brigade, and of the Present War." *The Pilot* 16 Jan. 1864 (27.3) 1:2.

60. "Harper's Weekly on Negroes." *The Pilot* 22 Aug. 1863 (26.34) 4:2.

61. "General Meagher's Irish Brigade." *The Pilot* 30 May 1863 (26.22) 4:3.

62. "Abolition no Cure for the Country." *The Pilot* 13 Dec. 1862 (25.50) 4:4.

63. "Harper's Weekly on Negroes." *The Pilot* 22 Aug. 1863 (26.34) 4:2.

64. I skimmed every page of the *Pilot* from this time span, and did not encounter one mention of 'African-American.' However, the bulk of the material I read from these years consists of an average 6,000 pages. And no matter how careful I tried to be as I read the *Pilot*, there is always the risk of failing to notice.

65. "All the Decency." *The Pilot* 5 Nov. 1864 (27.45) 8:1.

66. "The Late Riot in Detroit." *The Pilot* 21 Mar. 1863 (26.12) 3:6.

67. "Abolitionism a Philosophic Madness." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.44) 4:3.

68. "The President's Message." *The Pilot* 13 Dec. 1862 (25.50) 4:3.

69. "The Emancipation Proclamation." *The Pilot* 17 Jan. 1863 (26.3) 4:2.
70. "Abolition no Cure for the Country." *The Pilot* 13 Dec. 1862 (25.50) 4:4.
71. "New England Not out of the Union." *The Pilot* 28 Feb. 1863 (26.9) 4:2.
72. "Catholic Journals on Slavery." *The Pilot* 25 July 1863 (26.30) 4:4.
73. "More Negro Treachery." *The Pilot* 15 Nov. 1862 (25.46) 4:4.
74. "Negroes in the Army." *The Pilot* 7 Feb. 1863 (26.6) 5:5.
75. "The Gatherer." *The Pilot* 11 July 1863 (26.28) 7:1.
76. "Events—Foreign and Domestic." *The Pilot* 11 July 1863 (26.28) 5:5.
77. "Negro Bravery." *The Pilot* 29 Aug. 1863 (26.35) 4:3.
78. "Arrival of the First regiment of Black Soldiers in N. Orleans." *The Pilot* 14 Feb. 1863 (26.7) 5:4.
79. "Abolition no Cure for the Country." *The Pilot* 13 Dec. 1862 (25.50) 4:4.
80. "A Column of All Sorts." *The Pilot* 7 Feb. 1863 (26.6) 3:7.
81. "How the War Progresses: Department of the South, More Negro Trouble." *The Pilot* 7 Mar. 1863 (26.10) 5:5.
82. "Massacre, the Natural Result of the 'Proclamation.'" *The Pilot* 28 Mar. 1863 (26.13) p. 4:2.
83. "Shocking murder by Negroes: A Whole Family Massacred." *The Pilot* 22 Aug. 1863 (26.34) 4:6.
84. "The Negro Riot in Buffalo, N.Y." *The Pilot* 25 July 1863 (26.30) 3:3.
85. "Outrage on a Young Irish Girl." *The Pilot* 4 July 1863 (26.27) 5:4-5.
86. The word Cuffey, or in some instances Cuffy, Kofi or Cuffee, is a traditional day-name used among Africans. According to this tradition the child is given the name of the day it is born,

and the suffixes or the variations refer to the gender of the child. However, the use of the name in America turned into a negative slur, meaning ‘stupid,’ and losing its traditional meaning. Also, Europeans and Americans believed the name was derived from cuffs, which are well associated with the captivity of the slaves; and some even believed that it originated from the word coffee. This article employs the word ‘Cuffey’ in a seemingly over-sympathizing tone, which results in a derogatory use instead. For more information on the word “Cuffey,” and the offensive turn its meaning took, please see: Laversuch, Iman Makeba. “Runaway Slave Names Recaptured: An Investigation of the Personal First Names of Fugitive Slaves Advertised in the Virginia Gazette Between 1736 and 1776.” *Names A Journal of Onomastics*, vol.54, no.4, Dec. 2006, pp. 331-362. The bibliography of this article also offers a rich source of African naming traditions, and their resonating meaning in non-African communities.

87. “The Negro Neglected.” *The Pilot* 24 Jan. 1863 (26.4) 5:6.
88. “The Emancipation Proclamation.” *The Pilot* 10 Jan. 1863 (26.2) 4:3.
89. Hennessy, Michael. “Records of Irish-American Patriotism.” *The Pilot* 25 July 1863 (26.30) 3:6.
90. “Riots Between White and Black Laborers.” *The Pilot* 18 July 1863 (26.29) 4:4.
91. “A Terrible Week.” *The Pilot* 25 July 1863 (26.30) 4:6.
92. Hennessy, Michael. “Reports of Irish-American Patriotism.” *The Pilot* 1 Aug. 1863 (26.31) 5:2.
93. Hennessy, Michael. “Reports of Irish-American Patriotism.” *The Pilot* 1 Aug. 1863 (26.31) 5:2.
94. Hennessy, Michael. “Reports of Irish-American Patriotism.” *The Pilot* 1 Aug. 1863 (26.31) 5:3.



95. "The Great Riot in New York." *The Pilot* 1 Aug. 1863 (26.31) 2:5.
96. "The Great Riot in New York." *The Pilot* 25 July 1863 (26.30) 5:4-5.
97. "Harper's Weekly on Negroes." *The Pilot* 22 Aug. 1863 (26.34) 4:2.
98. "Fred. Douglass and the Irishman." *The Pilot* 27 Feb. 1864 (27.9) 4:4.
99. "What are the Irish Catholics Fighting For?" *The Pilot* 22 Apr. 1865 (28.16) 2:1.
100. "The Emancipation Proclamation." *The Pilot* 10 Jan. 1863 (26.2) 4:3.

### **Note to Conclusion**

1. "Agency of the Foreign Element in Developing this Country." *The Pilot* 6 Jan. 1866 (29.1) 2:1.